

46.e
C. C. S A L L U S T I I
B E L L U M
CATILINARIUM & JUGURTHINUM.

Edwin C. Hayes
C. C. S A L L U S T S
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C A T I L I N A R I A N and J U G U R T H I N E
W A R S.

TRANSLATED into ENGLISH by
HENRY LEE, Student of CLAREHALL, CAMBRIDGE.

Μηκέτι
πομπταίνε πορτίον.
PINDAR. Olymp. i.

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To the RIGHT HONORABLE
W I L L I A M
EARL of B A T H, &c.
And One of His M A J E S T Y's
Most Honorable Privy-Council.

M Y L O R D,

AS it is a custom indispenfibly requisite, to
assign to Merit all proper acknowledg-
ments of regard ; fo I no fooner determined to
purfue that practice, than I refolved to intro-
duce

duce this first Specimen of my Studies into the Learned World, under your LORDSHIP's protection. Persuaded, therefore, of your LORDSHIP's Patronage, I here beg leave to deposit my Endeavours, as a public acknowledgment of the great esteem I entertain for your LORDSHIP's Person.

I am,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

most humble,

and most devoted Servant,

Clare-hall, Feb.
19. 174 $\frac{3}{4}$.

HENRY LEE.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

MAN, when taking a View of the Solar System, is naturally lifted up in transport, and conceives a sudden joy; but when his mind is cooled, and those wild extravagancies are evaporated, he is immediately directed by his prying soul, to attempt an acquaintance with the principal of the Planets, which, with its beams, so invigorates the World; and with the secret springs, which give birth to its well-conducted access and recess: So I, taking a survey of the engaging scenes of action, which appeared in the series of the Roman History, and struck my imagination with irresistible pleasure, was impregnated with secret satisfaction. But the CONSPIRACY of CATILINE, and the WAR of JUGURTHA, these two
important

important occurrences which faithfully convey to our minds a knowledge of the singular conduct of the ROMAN ; of the extensive magnificence of his EMPIRE ; invested, as it were, with an attractive quality, drew my eyes aside from the contemplation of other uncommon objects, and claimed an absolute command over my attention. Nor did I unwillingly yield ; for they, divested of all other aid, merited a principal regard : But when I viewed the magnificent dress, the pompous garb wherein the AUTHOR had apparelled them ; in vain was the attempt to decline a survey of this subject. For this is the SOURCE of emphasis, significancy and grace, and every period conveys a new-born pleasure to the soul. Upon this I, being sensible of the imperfections which occur in the former TRANSLATIONS, determined (tho' my early years bid me desist) to dress it in an ENGLISH garb, which might bear as near an affinity as possible to the original. The GRANDEUR of stile, the SIGNIFICANCY of terms, the GRACEFULNESS of diction, which has given SALLUST, as an HISTORIAN, the palm of glory and immortality, bear but too inconsiderable a share in the structure of those Translations. Nor is there that CONCISENESS in them so worthy our regard in the HISTORIAN.

RIAN. As for my part, I have endeavoured to draw a Copy of the inimitable ORIGINAL, but am apprehensive of a deficiency in my colours, which are, I doubt, too faint, nor so judiciously laid on, nor so pertinently blended, as they ought to be. However, I have redoubled my application, to give it all possible heightnings, and to invest it with all the beauty our language communicates ; neither servilely translating, nor, by chaining the Author's sentiments to my own genius, detracting from its LUSTRE.

THE success of this Undertaking (the harvest of the 17th year) the World must determine, not biaſſed by prejudice, as some ENVIOUS PERSONS are, but submitting to the guidance of a judgment which a WELL-CONDUCTED EXPERIENCE forms.

C. C.

part. As for my part, I have endeavored to show a Copy
of the original's Original, but an examination of
it shows in my opinion, which I do not feel
to be a Copy, but a Copy of a Copy, and
of the original. However, I have not
the original, and I do not feel
to be a Copy, but a Copy of a Copy, and
of the original. However, I have not
the original, and I do not feel

to be a Copy, but a Copy of a Copy, and
of the original. However, I have not
the original, and I do not feel
to be a Copy, but a Copy of a Copy, and
of the original. However, I have not
the original, and I do not feel



C. C. SALLUST's

HISTORY

OF THE

CATILINARIAN WAR.



C. C. SALLUST's
HISTORY
OF THE
CATILINARIAN WAR.

IT is incumbent on every man, who would attain a superiority over other animals, industriously to avoid spending his life in obscurity, as the brute creation, which by nature is form'd in an inclining posture, and subservient to the gratification of its wants. For our human system consists of two distinct parts, the soul and the body. And all the ministers of sensation make their reports to the former for government, slighting a subjection to the slavery of the body. One of which ranks us with the Gods, the other with the brutes. On which consideration, I am inclined to judge it more advisable to acquire glory by the energy of the genius, than to attain it by the abilities of the body ; and since the life we enjoy is transitory, to endeavour as much as possible to perpetuate our memories. For the glory of wealth and beauty is frail, and liable to decay ; but virtue is always great and permanent. Notwithstanding this, there has been for some time a lively contest amongst men, whether success in war was more dependant on the abilities of the body, than on the faculties of the mind : For, on the one hand, before you enter on any measures, a mature consultation is necessary ; and, on the other hand, when you have deliberated on the concerns, they must

C. C. S A L L U S T I I

B E L L U M

C A T I L I N A R I U M.

OMNIS homines, qui sese student præstare cæteris animalibus, summâ ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant, veluti pecora ; quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo & corpore sita est. Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur. Alterum nobis cum dîs, alterum cum belluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii, quàm virium opibus gloriam quærere ; &, quoniam vita ipsa, quâ fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostrî quàm maximè longam efficere. Nam divitiarum & formæ gloria, fluxa atque fragilis est ; virtus clara, æternâque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis, an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam & prius, quam incipias, consulto : &, ubi consulueris, maturè facto

must be push'd on with vigour, and executed with resolution. Thus both being of themselves insufficient, and mutually tending one to the support of the other, require an union.

2. FOR this reason it was that kings (for monarchy was the first government establish'd amongst mankind) did in the early ages of the world, agreeable to their several characters, some promote the abilities of the body, and others the faculties of the mind: then indeed the life of man was unaffected with inordinate desires, every one acquiesced in the possession of his own territories. But when Cyrus seized upon the cities of Asia, the Athenian and Lacedemonian republics on those in Greece, and reduced several nations, 'twas then they term'd their immoderate passion for dominion a just cause for declaring war, defined true glory to be the extent of empire, and found that men of superior qualities were most advantageous in war. But if princes had equally exerted their talents in peace and war, the foundation of all governments would be much firmer, and the constitution of states more calm and undisturb'd; neither would one see the earth in such convulsions. For empire is easily retain'd by those arts that first procur'd it; but when a remiss indulgence banishes industry, and self-will and pride expels continence and exactness from the minds of men, then a change of fortune accompanies an innovation of manners. So empire is transferr'd from kings of an inferior character to those more distinguish'd; and the profits which accrue to men from tillage, voyages and buildings, are the produce of virtue. But many persons surrendering themselves to the indulgence of their sensual inclinations, unciviliz'd and ignorant, have pass'd over life as mere strangers in this world, whose sole happiness, in opposition to nature, consisted in gratifying their carnal desires, whilst promoting the faculties of the mind was as it were a burden to them. I look upon their life and death to be equally the same, because in both stations they are buried in oblivion. But he seems really to live, and enjoy the advantages of life, who applying his mind to a particular pursuit, endeavours, by a noble attempt, or his success in some laudable, art to enhance his character. But in the great variety of employs, nature points out to each man his pursuit.

3. IT is an honourable thing to act in such a manner as may be of advantage to the state, and eloquence is no groveling qualification. A man may attain an eminent character in peace and in war, and many
I who

opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

2. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diverſi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant : etiam tum vita hominum finè cupiditate agitabatur : ſua cuique ſatis placebant. Poſtea verò quàm in Aſiâ Cyrus, in Græciâ Lacedæmonii & Athenienſes, cœpere urbes, atque nationes ſubigere ; lubidinem dõminandi, cauſam belli habere : maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare ; tum demum periculis atque negotiis compertum eſt, in bello plurimum ingenium poſſe. Quòd ſi regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, ut in bello, valeret, æquabiliùs atque conſtantiùs ſeſe res humanæ haberent : neque aliud aliò ferri, neque mutari, ac miſceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facilè iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum eſt. Verùm, ubi pro labore deſidia, pro continentia & æquitate lubido atque ſuperbia invaſere ; fortuna ſimul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium ſemper ad optimum quemque à minùs bono tranſfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque ſomno, indocti, incultique, vitam ſicuti peregrinantes tranſiere : quibus proſectò, contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortémque juxtà æſtumo : quoniam de utrâque filetur. Verumenimvero is demum mihi vivere, & frui animâ videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed in magnâ copiâ rerum, aliud alii natura iter oſtendit.

3. Pulchrum eſt bene facere reip. etiam bene dicere haud abſurdum eſt. Vel pace, vel bello clarum fieri licet : & qui fecere, & qui facta aliorum

who have distinguish'd themselves by their conduct, and those also who have transmitted it to posterity, are honour'd with an universal applause; and tho' I own the historian don't merit the same praises as the hero, yet it seems to me an affair of no small concern, and attended with many inconveniencies, to write a history which will bear an eminent character; first, because the stile ought to correspond with the grandeur of the occurrences; and secondly, because most impute to envy and malice whatever miscarriages you censure; where you relate any instance of true virtue, and the glory which always attends men of honourable principles, what every one looks upon as easy to be accomplish'd by himself, he approves of, and whatever things exceed this comprehension, he judges them to be mere chimeras. But I, when young, as most others do, fix'd upon an office in the state, as my pursuit, and I here encounter'd with many difficulties, for modesty, virtue, and abstinence were banish'd, and instead of those excellencies, impudence, bribery, and avarice were encouraged. And notwithstanding my mind, an entire stranger to such deprav'd practices, despis'd them, yet youth, surrounded by such a chain of vices, was render'd infirm and corrupt; and tho' I was averse to the other evil affections of the state, yet the same desire of honour, the same spirit of envy, which oft prey'd on the minds of others, were essential to me.

4. My mind having with difficulty extricated itself out of those miseries and dangers, intent on continuing the remaining part of my life unaffected with the concerns of the state, it seem'd to me to be inconsistent with prudence, to spend so agreeable an ease in suffering my genius to slacken, or indulging sensual pleasures, neither applying to servile offices, to employ myself in agriculture or hunting; but recoiling back to the same design, from which disaffected ambition had detained me, I resolv'd to write the affairs of the republic in a concise manner, those I mean, which merited relation; and the more, because I was not affected by hope, fear, or party-zeal. I shall therefore briefly relate the conspiracy of Cataline, and as authentically as possible; for I look upon it as a remarkable scene of action, both for the strangeness of the crime, and the consequences attending it, concerning which person, a few things are to be hinted before I enter upon it.

orum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem, & auctorem rerum: tamen in primis arduum videtur, res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt: dein quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malivolentiâ, & invidiâ dicta putant: ubi de magnâ virtute, atque gloriâ bonorum memores; quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempubl. latus sum: ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentiâ, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia, vigeant: quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas, ambitione corrupta, tenebatur. Ac me, cum ab reliquis malis moribus dissentirem, nihilominus honoris cupido eadem, quæ cæteros, fama, atque invidia vexabat.

4. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, & mihi reliquam ætatem à rep. procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordiâ atque desidiâ bonum otium contere: neque verò agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum ætatem agere: sed à quo incepto, studiôque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi R. strictim, uti quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perscribere: eò magis, quod mihi à spe, metu, partibus reip. animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quàm verissimè potero, paucis absolvam. Nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate: de cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quàm initium narrandi faciam.

L. CATILINA.

5. L. CATILINE, born of a Patrician family, was active, had good natural parts, but his disposition was corrupted and deprav'd; he from his youth was pleas'd with intestine broils, rapines, murders, and civil commotions, to which he applied himself, and so much inur'd his body to endure want, cold, and watching that it is scarce credible. He had a daring mind, was inconstant, deceitful, could feign a knowledge of those concerns with which he was unacquainted, or wave his acquaintance with them. He was covetous, lavish, hot in gratifying his desires, had a flow of eloquence; but his intellectual faculties were not extraordinary. He had a vast mind, that soared immoderately, incredibly, whose aim was too high. A great passion for investing himself with the sovereignty of the state, after the reign of Sylla, seiz'd his soul, neither did he regard by what method it was acquir'd, whether just or criminal, did he but procure it for himself. Every day more and more his vehement mind was agitated by the want of an estate, and the sense of guilt; both of which he had enlarg'd by the abovemention'd practices. Moreover, the deprav'd manners of the states, which the worst, yet opposite vices, luxury and avarice, had disquieted, urg'd him to pursue his design. And as I have here enter'd upon this subject, it may not be improper to unravel the primitive actions of the republic, to review the conduct of our ancestors; how they administr'd affairs, when engaged in a war or enjoying peace; in what a flourishing situation they left it; and how gradually deviating from the glorious character it had attain'd, it has degenerated into a most vile and corrupt state.

6. THE Trojans, as I am inform'd, were the first founders and inhabitants of the city Rome, who being banished, wander'd under the command of Æneas, without any fixed habitation; and were joined by the Aborigines, an uncivilized race of men, lawless, unruled and independent. However, after they had agreed to settle in one city, notwithstanding they were differently descended, used various languages, and were regulated by opposite customs, they incredibly united in a short time. But when the state was more populous, their political principles improv'd, their dominions enlarg'd, and their affairs seem'd to them to be in a prosperous and valid situation. As it is the fate of most men, their happy success allured the envy of their neighbours. Whereupon the princes of the adjacent states

5. L. CATILINA, nobili genere natus, fuit magnâ vi & animi, & corporis, sed ingenio malo, pravôque. Huic ab adolescentiâ bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere : ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quàm cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, varius, subdolos, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus : satís eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum : vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem L. Sullæ, libido maxuma invaserat reip. capiundæ : neque, id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopiâ rei familiaris, & conscientiâ scelerum : quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas suprà memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores : quos pessuma, ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, suprà repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempub. habuerint, quantâque reliquerint, & ut paulatim immutata, ex pulcherrumâ & optuma pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, differere.

6. URBEM Romam, sicut ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani ; qui, Æneâ duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur ; cùmque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sinè legibus, sinè imperio, liberum, atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili linguâ, alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu, quàm faciliè coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satís prospera, satisque pollens videbatur ; sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentiâ

states declared war against them ; few of their friends assisted them, for they intimidated, fled from the danger which menaced. But the Romans, intent on making preparations at home, and on entering on hostile measures, mutually animating each other, marched out to meet the Enemy, to maintain their liberty, support their country, and parents. After they had averted the danger by their resolution, they assisted their friends and allies, who, upon account of the danger, had retreated ; and rather acquired a friendship by conferring than receiving favours. There was then established a legal empire under the title of a Monarchy, and some were elected who were rendered infirm by age, yet of superior abilities, to consult the advantage of the republic ; and either upon account of their age, or the similitude of their duty, were called Patres. But when royal government (which was first instituted for the preservation of liberty, and advancing the good of the state) degenerated into tyranny and despotic power, by changing the constitution of affairs, they appointed two principal persons to rule : for by this means they thought the licentiousness of the governors would be curbed.

7. THEN every one more and more began to display his abilities, and exert them in the service of the state ; for persons remarkable for a distinguished merit were more suspected by the kings, than those who were of an opposite character ; since princes are always apprehensive of some design proceeding from the abilities of the subject. But the state, after liberty prevailed, made an incredible progress in a short time ; so great did this motive of glory affect their souls. For now, as soon as the youths were capable of bearing arms, they learned the art of war, by inuring themselves, in the field, to the greatest hardships ; and conceived a greater pleasure in being handsomely armed and mounted, than following pleasure, or rioting at a banquet ; and therefore such men were tired with no fatigue, discouraged by no difficulties, and intimidated by no enemy, every thing was surmounted by their bravery. No conflict was more lively than that of emulation ; their sole ambition was to attack the enemy, to scale the wall, to render himself remarkable in the sight of the army. This they thought was riches, this the true method of gaining reputation, and the only grounds of nobility. They were greedy of praise, and generous ; were insatiable in acquiring glory, but content with a moderate fortune. I could relate many instances, where the Roman people, with a small body of troops, routed the most
I
numerous

orta est. Igitur reges, populique finitimi bello tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse. Nam cæteri, metu perculsi, à periculis aberant. At Romani, domi, militiæque intenti, festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviâ ire; libertatem, patriam, parentésque armis tegere. Pòst, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis, quàm accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant: imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum erat, reipublicæ consultabant. Hi, vel ætate, vel curæ similitudine, patres appellabantur. Pòst, ubi regium imperium quod initio conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reip. causa fuerat, in superbiam, dominationémque convertit; immutato more, annua imperia, binos imperatores, sibi fecere: eo modo minimè posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum.

7. SED eâ tempestate cœpere se quisque magis magisque extollere, ingeniumque in promptu habere: nam regibus boni, quàm mali, suspectiores sunt: semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adeptâ libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat. Jamprimum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis, & militaribus equis, quàm in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam, magnâque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus R. parvâ manu

numerous armies ; what cities fortified even by nature herself they took. Unless that subject would cause us to deviate too far from our present design.

8. BUT indeed fortune's sway is unlimited ; she elevates and depresses the actions of mortals, conforming rather to her own will than to truth. For the enterprizes of the Athenians, as I persuade myself, were really great and magnificent, yet much inferior to their character transmitted to us by fame. But because men of distinguished abilities were nurtured in that city, the transactions of the Athenians were looked upon as not to be paralleled by any. Thus all their events were set in as grand a light as words could possibly effect, by those historians. But this advantage never accrued to the Roman republic, since the wisest man was always deeply interested in the concerns of the state : none then promoted the faculties of the soul, without applying them to the improvement of the body. Every remarkable person rather chose the office of an actor, than that of a speaker ; and that his achievements should be celebrated by another, and not others performances by him.

9. Wherefore, at home and abroad, wise institutions were assiduously observed ; the greatest unanimity was every where encouraged ; and the power of avarice prevailed but little. The equity and justice with which they proceeded in all cases, rather seemed voluntary than forced. They now contended, disagreed, and practised hostilities against the enemies of the state ; whilst a spirit of emulation for virtue fired every breast. Magnificence shone in their sacrifices to the Gods ; frugality flourished at home, and fidelity was carefully observed towards their friends. With using resolution in war, and exercising equity in peace, they protected themselves and the state : to prove which those are sufficient arguments, that they oft inflicted severer punishments on those who, in opposition to orders, had engaged the enemy ; or who being recalled, had quitted the field with delay, than the deserters of their colours, or their stations in time of battle. But in peace they administered affairs rather with clemency than cruelty : for tho' an injury was offered, yet they preferred forgiveness to prosecution.

10. WHEN the state in this manner had improved itself in the art of war, and in the administration of justice ; had conquered powerful

fuderit, quas urbes naturâ munitas pugnando ceperit ; nî ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

8. SED profectò fortuna in omni re dominatur : ea res cunctas, ex lubricine magis, quàm ex vero, celebrat, obscurâtque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicut ego existumo, satis amplæ, magnificæque fuere, verùm aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur : sed, quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo R. numquam ea copia fuit : quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxumè erat : ingenium nemo finè corpore exercebat : optimus quisque facere, quam dicere ; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quàm ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

9. IGITUR domi, militiæque boni mores colebantur ; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat. Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quàm naturâ, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, similitates cum hostibus exercebant : cives cum civibus de virtute certabant : in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant : duabus his artibus, audaciâ in bello ; ubi pax evenerat, æquitate, fêque, remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta hæc habeo ; quòd in bello sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardiùs revocati prælio excesserant, quàm qui signa relinquere, aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant ; in pace verò, beneficiis magis, quàm metu, imperium agitabant ; & acceptâ injuriâ, ignoscere quàm persequi, malebant.

10. SED, ubi labore, atque justitiâ resp. crevit ; reges magni bello domiti ; nationes feræ, & populi ingentes, vi subacti ; Carthago,
æmula

ful princes, and subdued with its arms barbarous nations, and considerable states; when Carthage, her rival in the empire of the world, was ruined; and they were lords of all seas and territories; fortune begun to evidence her caprice, and occasioned a sensible change in the government. Those to whom no labours, no dangers, and no rugged intricate affairs were insuperable; ease and wealth, which others eagerly pursue, rendered unhappy and miserable. Therefore at first the affection for riches, then that for empire, poisoned the state. This inclination gave rise to all ill consequences, and extirpated, faith, probity, and all other excellencies; instead of which it engrafted pride, barbarity, and a mercenary spirit in the minds of men. Ambition obliged many to indulge deceitful and fraudulent practices, to nurture one design in their breast, and another on their tongues; to look on friendship as contracted or abolished not with any regard to honour, but to some advantageous view; and rather to render their countenance than their temper agreeable. These disorders increased gradually, and sometimes regulations were opposed to them; but after the contagion attacked the city, as a pestilence, the face of the state was entirely changed; and the government (which before was the most equitable and just, was on a sudden become the most tyrannical and insupportable.

II. IT was ambition rather than avarice which first biased their minds, which vice was yet a faint resemblance of virtue; for the resolute and cowards aim at the attainment of an equal share of glory, honour and empire. But the one endeavours to promote himself in a legitimate way; the other, because he is unacquainted with honourable practices, employs his deceit and cunning. Avarice can be defined to be nothing but an insatiable desire of wealth, which no wise man ever approved; and, as if containing a venomous infection, enervates man, is always powerful, insatiable, nor in the least diminished by affluence or poverty. But after L. Sulla procured to himself the administration of the state by dint of arms, calamities were the consequences of his happy beginning; for rapine and violence rendered all things confused. One person coveted a house, another lands; nor did the conquerors, in indulging their base practices, observe the least modesty or decency, but treated their fellow-citizens with most abominable injuries, and the greatest indignities. Moreover, L. Sulla, that he might firmly attach to his interest the forces he commanded in Asia, contrary to the
the

æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit; cuncta maria, terræque patebant: fortuna favere ac miscere omnia cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facillè toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur primò pecuniæ, dein imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterâsque artes bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud promptum in linguâ habere; amicitias, inimiciâsque non ex re, sed ex commodo æstumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium, bonum habere. Hæc primò paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari. Pòst, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit; civitas immutata: imperium ex justissimo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

II. SED primò magis ambitio, quàm avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propiùs virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus æquè sibi exoptant; sed ille verâ viâ nititur; huic quia bonæ artes defunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet: quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animûmque virilem effœminat: semper infinita, infatiabilis est; neque copiâ, neque inopiâ minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis receptâ rep. bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere: domum alius, alius agros cupere: neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere: fœda crudeliâque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quòd L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiâ ductaverat, quò sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum

the ancient maxims, indulged them in luxury and licentiousness to excess. The agreeable fields, and the pleasant situation of the country of Asia, easily soothed, after the expiration of the war, the rough disposition of the soldiers. It was then that the Romans first were affected with debauchery and lust, were plunged in ebriety and extravagance, were delighted with rapines, and indulged themselves in the basest pollution: for those soldiers, after the attainment of a victory, deprived the conquered of every thing. But success hurries wise men beyond the sphere of reason; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that such an ill-disciplined corrupt multitude should so little limit their fury.

12. AFTER riches began to be so much regarded, and honour, empire and power attended them; virtue sickned, poverty was despised, and innocence was liable to be censured as ill nature. Upon which our youth was influenced by luxury, avarice, and pride. All things were now ravaged and destroyed, they could not acquiesce in their own possessions; but were insatiable in desiring the property of others, slighted modesty and chastity, treated things divine and human with the greatest abuse, without any regard to decency, and rejecting restraint. It will answer your expectations, if you should take a general survey of the houses, country-seats, and temples of the Gods, erected by our ancestors, the most pious of mankind. For they embellished the temples with piety, and their houses with honour: neither did they deprive the vanquished of any thing, except a capacity of offering an injury. But these vile men, on the contrary, perpetrating the greatest crimes, took every thing from their allies, which the most renowned conquerors had left them; as if the practice of power consisted in offering injuries.

13. Yet why should I employ my time in such relations, as can appear credible to none unless those who have seen them; as of mountains levelled and edifices erected in the sea, by private persons; who seem to me to have sported with their riches; for they hurried on to abuse in a scandalous manner those things they might have circulated with honour. Nor were they less extravagant in their amorous intrigues, or their equipage: men and women prostituted themselves in the basest manner; and all the universe was ravaged to gratify their lavish desires; no natural returns were allowed for sleep, hunger and thirst, but were anticipated

jorum luxuriosè, nimisq̃ue liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, voluptaria, facilè in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum infuevit exercitus populi Rom. amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim ac publicè rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanâque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant : nedum illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.

12. POSTQUAM divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur : hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia cum superbiâ invasere. Rapere, consumere : sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere ; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi, neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, cùm domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verùm illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloriâ decorabant ; neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contrà, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea fociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant ; proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esse imperio uti.

13. NAM quid ea memorem, quæ, nisi his, qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt ; à privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constrata esse ? quibus mihi ludibrio videntur fuisse divitiæ : quippe, quas honestè habere licebat, per turpitudinem abuti properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeæ, cæterique cultûs non minor incefferat. Viri pati muliebria : mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere : vescendi causâ, terrâ, marique omnia exquirere : dormire prius, quàm somni cupido esset : non famem, aut sitim, neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed

cipated by a luxurious indulgence. Those were the vile customs in which the youths were conversant, and which first obliged them to lavish away their fortunes, and then flushed them with designs to perpetrate the most inhuman crimes. A mind tainted with these, seldom wanted an inclination to spur him on to the practice of them; and for this reason they surrendered themselves more eagerly to the gratification of every desire.

14. CATILINE was surrounded by a company of the most profligate and vile wretches, as guards to his person, which were no way difficult to be procured, in so depraved and corrupted a state. For the debauchee, adulterer, rake, who had consumed his fortune by extravagance, who had contracted large debts, that he might be free from arrests; moreover, all parricides, sacrilegious villains, who were convicted by law, or dreaded conviction; those, whom a hand or tongue inured to murder or perjury, supported; nay, finally, all who were conscious of crimes or indigent, Catiline respected as his faithful confidants. And if the guiltless had contracted a friendship with him, by daily conversation and allurements, he poisoned them, and nurtured them to his purpose. But his chief aim was to ensnare the noble youths; and their minds being flexible and weak, by reason of their age, were easily infected with his venom. For he gratified their inclinations in every thing; some by giving them whores, others by presenting them with dogs and horses; neither did he regard the expence or his credit, if he only rendered them firmly attached to his interest: I know some were induced to believe, that those who frequented the house of Catiline, practised unnatural indulgences. But this report proceeded rather from other aggravating circumstances, than from any proof.

15. IT is certain, when Catiline was but a youth, he engaged himself in many scandalous intrigues with a lady of quality, a vestal virgin, and had indulged himself in many vile practices, by which he had infringed the laws of the state; till at last he entertained a violent love for Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no excellency could ever be discovered, by one of just principles, but her beauty; who rejecting his addresses upon account of his son's being arrived to years of maturity, many credible persons have believed he poisoned him, that he might be at liberty to engage in so abominable a marriage; which affair appears to me to be

ea omnia luxu antè capere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, facinora incendebant; animus imbutus malis artibus, haud facilè lubricinibus carebat; eo profusiùs omnibus modis quæstui, atque sumptui deditus erat.

14. IN tantâ tamque corruptâ civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti iudiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus, atque lingua, perjurio & sanguine civili alebat; postremò, omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, hi Catilinæ proximi, familiarésque erant. Quòd si quis etiam à culpâ vacuus in amicitiam ejus incederat; quotidiano usu, atque illecebris, facilè par, similisque cæteris efficiebatur. Sed maxumè adolescentium familiaritates appetebat. eorum animi molles, & ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari: postremò neque sumtui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios, fidósque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita existumarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabât, parum honestè pudicitiam habuisse: sed ex aliis rebus magis, quàm quòd cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

15. JAMPRIMUM adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, & alia hujuscemodi contra jus, fâsque: postremò, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus, præter formam, nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quòd ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adultum ætate; pro certo creditur, necato

be the reason of the diligence he used in executing his design. For his impious soul, incensed with rage against Gods and men, could not be appeased with sleep, nor soothed with waking; so dreadfully was he alarmed with the stings of a guilty conscience, which made his countenance pale, his eyes ghastly; he sometimes walked quick and sometimes slow; and even madness was imprinted on his looks.

16. BUT he inured the youths whom (as we have before mentioned) he gained, to the most villanous practices; out of those he furnished men with false witnesses and forgers, caused them not to regard faith, fortune and dangers; and when he had blasted their character, erased all sense of modesty, he engaged them in grander designs; and if no opportunity presented itself in which to practise their depraved morals, he employed them in assassinating the innocent as guilty; lest, thro' want of exercise, their hearts should be any way deficient in performing, or their hands in attempting: and was wicked and cruel, tho' he had no incentives which induced him so to act. Catiline relying on those friends and associates, conceived a design of subjecting the state, because great sums of money were owing by many; and most of the soldiers who served under Sylla, and had spent their money profusely, mindful of the rapine and plunder they had gained by their victories, passionately wished for civil commotions; no army was then in Italy; Cn. Pompey was carrying on a war in the extreme part of the world: he had great hopes of being elected consul. The senate was not intent upon taking any precautions; and every thing was safe and secure. All which circumstances seemed to encourage Catiline in his design.

17. UPON which, on the calends of January, in the consulship of L. Cæsar and C. Figulus, he first tried each of his associates singly; animated some, sounded the minds of others; intimated to them his strength and the impaired condition of the state, promised great benefits from the success of the conspiracy. And when he had attentively ranged their minds, he convenes those who were most embarrassed, or who had a daring disposition, to one place; at which were present of the senatorian order, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius the sons of Sulla Servius, Lucius Varguntejus, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læcca, Lucius Bestia, Quintus

filio, vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi : namque animus impurus, diis, hominibûsque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat ; ita conscientia mentem excitam vexabat : igitur color ei exsanguis, fœdi oculi ; citus modò, modò tardus incessus : prorsus in facie, vultûque vecordia inerat.

16. SED juventutem, quam, ut suprà diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat, ex illis testes, signatorésque falsos commodare ; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere : pòst ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat. Si causa peccandi in præsens minùs suppetebat : nihilominus infontes, sicuti fontes, circumvenire, jugulare ; scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuitò potiùs malus, atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisq̃ue confusus Catilina ; simul, quòd æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat ; &, quòd plerique Sullani milites, largiùs suo usi, rapinarum & victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant ; opprimundæ reip. consilium cepit. In Italiâ nullus exercitus : Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat : ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes ; senatus nihil sanè intentus ; tutæ, tranquillæque res omnes : sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

17. IGITUR circiter Kal. Jun. L. Cæsare & C. Figulo coff. primò singulos appellare : hortari alios, alios tentare ; opes suas, imparatam remp. magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quæ voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo, & plurimum audaciæ inerat. Eò convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. & Ser. Sullæ Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læcæa, L. Bestia,

Quintus Curtius; of the equestrian order were Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinus Capito, Caius Cornelius; and other noblemen of the colonies and boroughs. There were also many of the noblesse, who more secretly were his associates, whom the hopes of empire, rather than want, or any other necessity, flushed with a desire of engaging in the conspiracy. But the greatest part of the youths, especially those of quality, seconded his intent; who could have lived magnificently, and in the utmost tranquility, yet chose uncertainties rather than certainties, and hostile measures rather than peace. Some were then of opinion that M. Licinius Crassus was not entirely unacquainted with the conspiracy; because Cn. Pompey, against whom he was violently incensed, was honoured with the command of a numerous army, whose power rather than not extenuate, he would engage in any design to enhance another, firmly believing, if the issue of the conspiracy was fortunate, he should be elected their head.

18. BUT before this some gentlemen, amongst whom was Catiline, formed a design against the state, of which I will give as authentic a relation as possible. In the consulship of L. Tullus and Mar. Lepidus, Publius Autronius, and Publius Sulla, consuls elect, being try'd for bribery, had been punished; and during a small interval of time, Catiline being also accused of extortion, was prohibited standing a candidate for the consulship, because he could not declare himself one, within the term of days appointed by law. Now there was then in the state a certain noble youth named Cn. Piso, daring, factious, and indigent, whom want and depraved morals incited to oppress the republic; and he, acting in concert with Catiline and Autronius, formed a design, on the nones of December, of assassinating the consuls L. Cotta and L. Torquatus, in the capitol, on the first of January; by which, having seized upon the consulship, they were to dispatch Piso, with an army to receive the government of the two Spains into his hands. But this conspiracy being discovered, they retarded the execution of it till the nones of February, when they not only intended the murder of the consuls, but also of most of the senators. And unless Catiline had given the signal too soon to his associates, before the senate-house, on that day would have been perpetrated the most inhuman action, that

Bestia, Q. Curius: præterea, ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc, multi ex coloniis & municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant, præterea complures paulo occultius consilii hujusce participes, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quàm inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Cæterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxumè nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quàm pacem, malebant. Fuere item eâ tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse: quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat: cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. SED antea item conjuravere pauci, in quibus Catilina: de quo, quàm verissumè potero, dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido Coss. P. Autronius, & P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Pòst paulò Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat petere consulatum; quòd intrà legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus; quem ad perturbandam rempubl. inopia, atque mali mores stimulabant: cum hòc Catilina, & Autronius, circiter Nonas Decembr. consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januar. L. Cottam & L. Torquatum Coss. interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere: eâ re cognitâ, rursus in Februar. Nonas, consilium cædis transtulerunt. Jam tum non consulibus modò, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quòd nî Catilina maturâisset pro curiâ signum sociis dare; eo die post conditam urbem Romam, pessimum

that had ever been committed since the foundation of the city. But few of the conspirators appearing, the design miscarried.

19. SOON after this Piso, by the interest of Crassus, was sent as quaestor into the nearer Spain, invested with prætorian authority, tho' not with the dignity, because he was sensible of the great inveteracy he nurtured against Pompey, neither did the senate unwillingly vote him that province, thro' a fond desire of removing so infamous a person, as far distant as possible from the state. Many honourable persons also supposing, that by his means the formidable power of Pompey might be weakened. But this Piso, in his journey to his province, was destroyed by his own regiment of Spanish horse. Some people are inclined to believe, that the Barbarians were unable to bear his haughty, unequitable, and cruel commands. But others assert, that those horse were in the interest of Pompey, and at his instigation assassinated Piso: for the Spaniards having been before oppressed by the severe commands of other governors, never attempted an action of this nature. But we must leave this affair yet disputable. And have sufficiently acquainted you with this conspiracy.

20. WHEN Catiline saw those assembled whom I have before mentioned, tho' he had much animated them singly, yet being persuaded it might support his design, he retired into a private apartment, and thus addressed them: " Unless I had been sufficiently acquainted
 " with your probity and honour, in vain would so favourable an opportunity have presented itself to our view; great hopes would have
 " died in conception, and dominion would have in vain offer'd itself to
 " our possession. Nor would I have hazarded an attempt, where I pursued
 " uncertainties for certainties, in the hands of abject men. But
 " since I have discovered, in the greatest calamities which have embarrased
 " me, many instances of your affection for me, and of your
 " steady attachment to my person, I have engaged myself in a most important
 " and honourable design; and the rather, because I am sensible
 " that we have all the same dependance: for firm union is the chain
 " of friendship. You all have singly heard my proposals, and my
 " mind is every day more and more urg'd on to execute them; when
 " I reflect with myself how terrible the prospect of life is, unless we
 " regain

num facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenierant ; ea res consilium diremit.

19. POSTEA Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso ; quod eum infestum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat. Quippe foedum hominem à repub. procul abesse volebat : simul, quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant, & jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinciam, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati : alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos : numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquimus. De superiori conjuratione satis dictum.

20. CATILINA, ubi eos, quos paulò antè memoravi, convenisse videt ; tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat ; tamen, in rem fore credens universos appellare & cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secessit ; atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. “ Nî virtus, fidesque vestra satis spectata mihi
“ foret : nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset ; spes magna domina-
“ tio in manibus frustra fuisset : neque per ignaviam, aut vana in-
“ genia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis, & magnis
“ tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis, fidosque mihi, eò animus ausus
“ est maxumum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere ; simul, quia
“ vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona, malaque esse intellexi. Nam, idem
“ velle, atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego
“ quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audivistis. Caterùm
“ mihi indies magis animus accenditur, cùm confidero, quæ conditio

“ regain our lost liberty. For since the state consented that their
 “ affairs should be administered by a few of its principal persons,
 “ kings and tetrarchs have been tributary to them, principalities
 “ and states have paid them taxes; whilst we, though coura-
 “ geous or honourable, though noble or ignoble, have been
 “ treated with the utmost disdain, honoured with no favours, in-
 “ vested with no authority, but always have been submissive slaves
 “ to those, whom, if the constitution of the state was good, we
 “ should intimidate. They now have the sole disposal of honour,
 “ wealth and dominion; whilst we are harassed with danger, dis-
 “ credit, accusation, and indigence. How long, bravest associates,
 “ shall we be imposed upon by those vile wretches? Is it not more
 “ honourable to end this life in a just cause, than to live miserably,
 “ dishonourably, having been as it were a sport to others pride?

21. “ But, Oh ye Gods! victory seems to smile upon us; our youth
 “ is in its bloom; our understanding firm and valid: Age and the
 “ indulgence of luxury hath enervated them; a beginning there-
 “ fore at present is only necessary: since the design will bring
 “ itself to perfection. For what mortal, fired with a spirit of re-
 “ sentment, can bear to see them swimming in such affluence, as to
 “ lavish them away in building palaces in the seas, and in levelling
 “ mountains; whilst we, amidst such great extravagance, are desti-
 “ tute of a paternal estate, and even of the common necessaries of
 “ life? To see, I say, some of them possess two or more houses,
 “ whilst we have none. And tho’ they furnish themselves with the
 “ most excellent pieces of painting, embossed plate, raze one house,
 “ build another; tho’ they destroy their riches by any method,
 “ and indulge the greatest extravagance, they cannot consume
 “ their immense wealth. But poverty crushes us at home, and
 “ our creditors abroad; affairs are in a desperate situation, yet the
 “ prospect is much more melancholy: nay, what have we left but
 “ a distressed life, destitute of all necessaries? Will not you then
 “ awake from your lethargy? Behold that liberty, that agreeable li-
 “ berty, you so oft desired; moreover riches, honours, empire, are
 “ now our sole prospect; for fortune has entitled the victor to these
 “ rewards. But let the favourable juncture, the delicate situation of
 “ our affairs, the impending misfortunes and indigence, and the glo-
 “ rious spoils of war, animate you more than my address. As for
 “ me, I will either be your general or associate, and assist you with
 “ my

“ vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsos vindicamus in libertatem. Nam,
 “ postquam resp. in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit,
 “ semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vectigales esse : populi, nationes, stipen-
 “ dia pendere : cæteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles,
 “ vulgus fuimus, sinè gratiâ, sinè auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si
 “ resp. valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia,
 “ honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt : nobis relinqui-
 “ runt pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem
 “ patiemini, fortissimi viri ? nonne emori per virtutem præstat ;
 “ quàm vitam miseram, atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiæ lu-
 “ dibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere ?

21. “ VERUMENIMVERO, proh deûm atque hominum fidem !
 “ victoria in manu nobis est : viget ætas : animus valet : contra illis,
 “ annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. tantummodo incepto
 “ opus est ; cætera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile
 “ ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profun-
 “ dant in exstruendo mari, & montibus coæquandis, nobis rem fa-
 “ miliarem etiam ad necessaria deesse ? illos binas, aut amplius domos
 “ continuare : nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse ? cum ta-
 “ bulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant : po-
 “ stremò omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant : tamen summâ
 “ lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia,
 “ foris æs alienum ; mala res, spes multo asperior. Denique quid
 “ reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam ? Quin igitur expergis-
 “ cimini ? en illa, illa, quam sæpe optâstis, libertas ; præterea divi-
 “ tiæ, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt : fortuna ea omnia victoribus
 “ præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia mag-
 “ nifica, magis quàm oratio mea, vos hortentur. Vel imperatore,

“ my counsel and arms. This design, as I persuade myself, we shall
 “ execute in my consulship, unless you deviate from the opinion I
 “ conceive of you, and you think slavery preferable to empire and
 “ dominion.”

22. WHEN the associates had heard his address, tho' all the miseries in life seemed to harass them, and though they entertained no hopes of amending the present situation of affairs; and were induced to believe great benefits might accrue to them from civil commotions; yet most demanded, on what conditions they should prosecute the war, what advantages they should derive from it; what armies they had, and what hopes of success. Then Catiline promised them a new form of laws, a proscription of the rich, offices civil and sacred, rapine, and all other spoils which victory can produce. Moreover, he informed them that Piso was in nearer Spain, and that Publius Silius Nucerinus was in Mauritania with an army, both whom he had acquainted with his intent. That C. Antonius was now a candidate for the consulship, who he hoped would be his colleague; a man with whom he liv'd in great intimacy, and who was firmly attached to him by many obligations; and that he being consul, would enter, in concert with him, upon the execution of the conspiracy. After this he cast many invectives against the honourable, and calling his associates by their several names, animated them, and admonished one of want, another of his inordinate passion for gain, others of danger and ignominy, and many of the Syllan victory, which had intitled them to such glorious spoils; and when he perceived their minds inflamed with his address, encouraging them to support his interest, he dissolved the assembly.

23. SOME say, that Catiline, when he had finished his oration, obliged his associates to swear fidelity to him, and gave every one human blood mixed with wine in a bowl; and then, when all had tasted, in imitation of the custom observed in solemn sacrifices, he discovered to them his intent, and informed them, that he used this ceremony to render them more unanimous in the prosecution of so grand an affair. But some were induced to believe, that those and other things were formed thro' imagination, and asserted, though fictitious, by the men who thought to mitigate the odium with which Cicero was afterwards perplexed, by the enormous character and conduct of those he condemned.

“ vel milite me utemini : neque animus, neque corpus à vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum unà consul agam : nisi fortè me animus fallit, & vos servire magis, quàm imperare, parati estis.”

22. POST QUAM accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla : tametsi illis, quæta movere, magna merces videbatur ; tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret : quæ armis præmia peterent : quid ubique opis, aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum, atque libido victorum fert : præterea, esse in Hispaniâ citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritaniâ cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes : petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem & familiarem, & omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum : cum eo consulem se initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis, increpabat omnis bonos : fuorum unumquemque nominans, laudare, admonere alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi, aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt ; cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

23. FUERE eâ tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cum ad iurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse ; indè, cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum ; atque eò dictitare fecisse, quò inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta & hæc, & multa præterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sce-

demned. But as yet not any proofs have been found by me that may strengthen this assertion.

24. THERE was concerned in this conspiracy a certain man named Q. Curius, of no mean original, but was remarkable for his depravity, whom the censors, that they might disgrace, banished the senate; he was equally inconstant with regard to his morals, and audacious, could not retain as a secret an affair of any importance, nor even conceal his own criminal proceedings, and never was affected with the least regard concerning what he said or acted. He was concerned in an intrigue with Fulvia, descended of a noble family; and when she despised him upon account of poverty, and his incapacity to indulge her with presents, he on a sudden boasting promised her mountains and seas of riches, and sometimes threatened her with death, unless she would be agreeable to him; and at last, practising the greatest haughtiness, he treated her in a manner much different from his former behaviour. But Fulvia having discovered the reason of this unexpected change, informed the state of the danger which menaced, and so concealing the author, acquainted many with what she had heard. It was this circumstance which induced the citizens to intrust the consulship in the hands of M. Tullius Cicero. Tho' most of the nobility before burnt with envy, that the consulship should, as it were, be disgraced by a mean upstart, tho' equally qualified for it. In this great danger interest banished pride and envy.

25. WHEREUPON M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius were duly elected consuls, which circumstance at first shocked the conspirators; nevertheless Catiline prosecuted his design with the same ardour, projected new schemes every day, procured arms in places convenient for the execution of his conspiracy; borrowed money upon his own credit or his friends, and sent it to Manlius to Fæfulæ, who afterwards first took the field. It is said that he allured many of every rank, nay even women, who had maintained their extravagance by prostitution; and when a decay of person had obliged them to desist from their pursuit, tho' not from their luxury, had contracted immense debts. By their assistance Catiline was persuaded he could insinuate himself
I into

ris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

24. SED in eâ conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus : quem censores senatu probri gratiâ moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat, quàm audacia ; neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare ; prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cùm Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo : cui cùm minùs gratus esset, quòd inopiâ minus largiri poterat, repentè glorians, maria, monteisque polliceri cœpit, minari interdum ferro, nî sibi obnoxia foret : postremò, ferociùs agitare, quàm solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ Curii causâ cognitâ, tale periculum reipubl. haud occultum habuit ; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quo modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidiâ æstuabat, & quasi pollui consulatum credebatur, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia pòst fuere.

25. IGITUR, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius, & C. Antonius : quod factum primò populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur ; sed in dies plura agitare ; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare ; pecuniam, suâ, aut amicorum fide sumtam mutuam, Fæfulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Eâ tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur ; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentis sumtus stupro corporis toleraverant : pòst, ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui, nequæ luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebatur posse servitia urbana

follici-

into the favour of the city-slaves, could burn the city, and bring their husbands over to his party, or compleat their destruction.

26. AMONGST those was Sempronia, who had engaged in many designs with uncommon audacity, of a noble original, elegant form, happy in her husband and children, skill'd in music, perfectly versed in the Greek and Latin languages, understood the art of dancing more than suited a woman of a modest character, and was mistress of more luxurious indulgences, regarded nothing so little as modesty and chastity, and it was a difficult matter to determine, whether she sported more with her money or her reputation : for she was so fired with lust, that she oftener desired others to gratify her in her pleasures, than others desired her ; she had betrayed her honour, perjured herself, been guilty of murder, and had precipitated herself into luxury and poverty. But she was furnished with no groveling genius, could compose poems, was humorous, could discourse modestly, merrily, or wantonly ; and, in short, was very jocular and witty.

27. THO' all those preparations were made for the accomplishing his intent, yet Catiline declared himself a candidate for the consulship the next year ; hoping, if he should succeed in his election, that he could make use of the interest of Antony at his pleasure. During this interval he was not wholly inactive, but endeavoured, if possible, to take off Cicero, all rendered his schemes abortive, that tended to his destruction : for, by making great promises to Fulvia in the beginning of his consulship, he induced Q. Curius, whom I have before mentioned, to reveal all designs ; and moreover, by promising Antony a province, he firmly attached him to his interest, and privately maintained a body of his friends and clients, as a guard to his person. When the day of election came on, and neither his petition for the consulship was received, nor his attempt against Cicero succeeded, he resolved to declare war, and try his success at all events. Because the secret designs he had formed had proved unsuccessful.

28. UPON which he sent Manlius to Fæsulæ, and into that part of Etruria, Septimius Camer into the Picene, and C. Julius into Apulia, besides others, whom he dispatched into convenient places.
During

sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adungere sibi, vel interficere.

26. SED in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque formâ, præterea viro atque liberis fati fortunata fuit: litteris Græcis & Latinis docta; psallere, saltare elegantius, quàm necesse est probæ: multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt, sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus, atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ, an famæ minùs parceret, haud facile discerneres; lubidine sic accensâ, ut sæpius peteret viros, quàm peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuriâ atque inopiâ præceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere; jocum movere; sermone uti, vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci; prorsus multæ facetiæ multûsque lepos inerat.

27. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilominus in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum: neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis infidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque à principio consulatûs sui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulò antè memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempubl. sentiret: circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientum occultè habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit; & Catilinæ neque petitio, neque infidiæ, quas consuli fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, & extrema omnia experiri; quoniam, quæ occultè tentaverat, aspera foedâque evenerant.

28. Igitur C. Manlium Fæstulas, atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in

F

Apuliam

During which transactions he projected many schemes at Rome to assassinate the consul; to burn the city; to seize on advantageous posts with armed troops: as for himself he was always furnished with a sword, and ordered others to be armed in the same manner; to be ready upon any emergency. He hastened his preparations night and day; unfatigued amidst the want of rest and embarrassments. At last, when none of his attempts succeeded, he summoned the heads of the conspiracy to an assembly at midnight by M. Porcius Laeca; when complaining much of their weakness and indolence, he acquainted them that he had sent Manlius to the multitude before him, which he had engaged to take arms in his favour; and also others to proper places, that they might first enter upon the campaign: and that he himself was extremely desirous of joining the army in person, but first wish'd to take off Cicero, who greatly obviated his designs.

29. WHEREFORE, whilst the rest of the associates were discomfited by the miscarriages, and doubted of success, C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, promised his assistance jointly with L. Vargunteius, a senator; and resolved, on that night, to enter into the house of Cicero with armed men, as if to deliver their compliments, and to assassinate him, when destitute of assistance, in his own house. But Curius, when he perceived the danger which menaced the consul, immediately acquaints Cicero, by Fulvia, with the plot carried on against him, upon which admittance was refused, which frustrated all their designs. Manlius in the mean time solicited the people of Etruria, who, upon account of poverty, and the many injuries received, were desirous of a revolution in the state, since, in the reign of Sulla, their lands and goods were taken away. He also engaged in his service robbers, of which there was a considerable number in the country, and some of the Sullan colonies, whom lust and luxury had incited to consume the immense spoils they had gained.

30. WHEN Cicero was acquainted with those transactions, actuated with apprehensions of the double danger which impended, because he could no longer effect the preservation of the state from the destructive projects by his private counsel; nor was he certain how powerful the army of Manlius was, or how he intended to act; he refers the affair to the senate, of which the common people was now informed. Where-

Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri: consuli infidias tendere: parare incendia: opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse; item alios jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti, paratique essent: dies, noctesque festinare: vigilare, neque infomniis, neque labore fatigari. Postremò, ubi multa agitati nihil procedit, rursus intempestâ nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læccam, ibique multa de ignaviâ eorum questus, docet se præmisisse Manlium ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppresisset: eum suis consiliis multum officere.

29. IGITUR, perterritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, & cum eo L. Vargunteius fenerator, constituere eâ nocte paulò post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, & de improvîso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit, quantum periculum consuli impendeat, properè per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enunciat: ita illi januâ prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruriâ plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriæ, novarum rerum cupidam: quòd Sullæ dominatione, agros, bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea, latrones cujusque generis, quorum in eâ regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

30. EA cùm Ciceroni nunciarentur; ancipiti malo permotus, quòd neque urbem ab infidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam.

Wherefore, according to the custom always observed in a dangerous situation of affairs, the senate decreed, " that the consuls should be " wholly intrusted with the care of the state, and should provide for its " defence." By this decree the consuls were invested with uncontrouled authority, could commence hostilities, levy new troops, and oblige the citizens and allies to obedience in all cases; and, as it were, could use an arbitrary power at home and abroad. None of those affairs could otherwise be transacted by the consul, without the consent of the people.

31. SOON after this L. Senius, a senator, read, in the presence of the senate, a letter he had received from Fæsulæ, informing them that C. Manlius had taken the field, with a considerable number of men, about the sixth of the calends of November. Also, as is a common accident in such junctures, prodigies and miracles were seen by many. Some brought intelligence that an assembly was called, that arms were hurried about from place to place; and disturbances were promoted in Apulia and at Capua by the slaves. Wherefore, by a decree of the senate, Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Fæsulæ, and Q. Metellus Creticus to Apulia, and the adjacent places. Those generals were then nigh the city, expecting a triumphant entry; but were opposed by the envy of a few persons, who made it their principal business to dispose of honourable or dishonourable things, for money only. The prætors also, Q. Pompeius Rufus and Q. Metellus Cimber, were sent to Capua and into the Picenian land, and they were empowered to raise new forces, as might seem proper for the defence of the state. Besides this, the senate decreed " to him who discovered any of the " projects, which were now carrying on against the safety of the re- " public, if a slave, freedom and an hundred thousand sesterces; and " if a freeman, pardon with two hundred thousand sesterces." It was also further enacted, " that gladiators should be sent to Capua, " and other boroughs for guards, that centinels should constantly be " kept in every part of the city, and that they should be under the " command of inferior officers."

32. By these preparations the city was terrified, and the face of affairs quite altered; for on a sudden sorrow and grief destroyed the cheerfulness, to which a daily tranquillity had given birth. One hastened, another trembled. No place, no person was thought a sufficient security; neither had they war nor peace, and estimated the danger of the state by their own private timidity. Moreover, the women, troubled

Itaque; quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, “darent operam consules, ne quid respub. detrimenti caperet.” Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis: domi militiæque imperium, atque iudicium summum habere. Aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

31. Post paucos dies L. Senius senator in senatu literas recitavit, quas Fæfulis allatas sibi dicebat a Q. Fabio; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magnâ multitudine ante diem vi. Kal. Nov. simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant: alii, conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ, atque in Apuliâ servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Fæfulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam, circumque ea loca missi. Hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumniâ paucorum, quibus omnia honesta, atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed Prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum: hisque permissum, “ut pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent;” ad hoc, “si quis indicasset de conjuratione, quæ contra remp. facta erat, præmium, servo libertatem & h-sc. libero impunitatem ejus rei, & h-scc.” itemque decrevere, “ut familiæ gladiatoria Capuam, & in cætera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, eisque minores magistratus præessent.”

32. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata facies urbis erat: ex summâ lætitiâ atque lasciviâ, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repentè omnis tristitia invasit. Festinare, trepidare, neque loco, neque homini cuiquam satis credere: neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere: suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus

troubled with the dreadful apprehensions of war, of which they had never been before sensible, on account of the grandeur of the state, were plung'd in affliction. They became the greatest suppliants, pitied their tender infants, enquired after every thing, were in the greatest confusion, and laying aside their haughtiness and delicacy, looked upon themselves and their country as lost. But the implacable disposition of Catiline was still intent upon the execution of his design, notwithstanding the precautions to avert it, and tho' he was accused by L. Paulus upon the Plautian law. At last, under pretence of acquitting himself, as if he had been impeached thro' malice, he appeared before the house. Then M. Tullius Cicero the consul, either dreading the fatal consequences which might proceed from his appearance, or inflamed with passion, made a very elegant and effectual address, which he afterwards published. But when he sat down, Catiline, as he was always prepared to dissemble, with a dejected countenance, and a suppliant voice, "intreated the senators, not precipitately to credit any thing affirmed against him; that he was descended of such a family; and was so educated in his youth, that he had cause to expect every thing concerning his honour would succeed according to his desire; and he petitioned them not to think, that he a nobleman, who had, as well as his ancestors, endeavoured to support the liberty of the state, should now expose it to destruction, when Cicero, who was but a tenant of the city, had preserved it from ruin." As he cast those reflections on the consul, with many other invectives, they all unanimously called him "an enemy to the state, and a paricide." Whereupon he, raging, said, "Since I am circumvented by enemies, and precipitated into extremities, I will extinguish the fire of your houses, by the total destruction of them."

33. HAVING said this, he quitted the house, and went home, where, when he had reflected with himself how his plot against the consul had miscarried, that the city was guarded from all attempts of fire, believing it would be most effectual to augment his troops, and to seize on those places which were convenient for the execution of his design, before all the legions were levied; he went at midnight with a few associates to the Manlian camp. But engaged Cethegus and Lentulus, and others, whose officious intrepidity he had experienced, to "strengthen his party by any method, to hasten the assassination of the consul, and to make preparations for murder, fire, and other hostilities; and as for himself, he would soon return to the city with a great body of forces."

quibus pro reip. magnitudine belli timor insolitus incefferat, afflictere sese; manus supplices ad cœlum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogare; omnia pavere; superbiâ atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. Ad Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsidia parabantur, & ipse lege Plautiâ interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo: postremò, dissimulandi causâ, & quasi sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio laceffitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, siue præsentiam ejus timens, siue irâ commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipubl. quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi illê assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici, “ postulare à patribus, ne quid de se temere crederent: “ eâ familiâ ortum, ita ab adolescentiâ vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne existimarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius, atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem R. essent, perditâ “ republ. opus esse; cùm eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis “ urbis Romæ. Ad hoc, maledicta alia cùm adderet; obstrepere “ omnes; hostem atque parricidam vocare;” tum ille furibundus: “ Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab inimicis præceps agor, “ incendium meum ruinâ exstinguam.”

33. DEIN se ex curiâ domum proripuit: ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quòd neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, & ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius, quàm legiones scriberentur, multa antè capere, quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempestâ cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego, atque Lentulo, cæterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, “ quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent; cædem, incendia, aliâque belli facinora parent: sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad “ urbem accessure.”

34. DURING these transactions at Rome, C. Manlius dispatched some of his officers to Q. Marcius Rex, with this address. " We witness heaven and men, most potent general, that we neither arm'd ourselves against our country, nor to prejudice others, but to protect ourselves from the insults of our enemies, who precipitated into a miserable and helpless situation, through the insupportable violence and cruelty of our creditors, are most of us exiled ; but all entirely deprived of an honourable character, and our fortunes. Neither was it allowed us to use the benefit of the laws, or to keep our persons free, when stript of our estates ; so intolerable was the cruelty of our creditors, and the prætor. Your ancestors, affected with compassion, have by decrees oft relieved the want of the people, and lately even in our time, upon account of the number of debts contracted, they decreed that brass should be valued as silver in the payment of them. Oft have the commons, either fired with the lust of dominion, or resenting the haughtiness of the magistrates, openly contested with the senate. But empire or riches are not our desire, which occasion such contests amongst mortals ; it is liberty, of which none, flush'd with a spirit of resentment, can be deprived, without the loss of life. Therefore we intreat you and the senate to consult for the advantage of despairing citizens, to reinstate us in the possession of the benefit of the law, of which the injustice of the prætor divested us ; and not to necessitate us to consider how we may die, amidst an affluence of revenge."

35. WHICH address Q. Marcius answered to this effect : " If they had any thing to petition of the senate, they should relinquish their arms, and go as suppliants to Rome. That the senate and the people had used, in their administration, such clemency and mercy, that not an instance of a refusal given to any suppliant could be found. But Catiline, in his journey, sent letters to most of the consular gentlemen, especially those of an honourable character, importing that since he had been falsely impeached, and of many grievous crimes, and could not withstand the party of his enemies, that he committed the success of his affair into the hands of fortune, and was preparing for a journey to Marseilles, where he intended to continue the remainder of his life in banishment. Not that he was conscious of any of the crimes of which he was accused, but that the state might enjoy the utmost tranquility, and not
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34. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Q. Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi.

“ Deos, hominésque testamur, Imperator, nos arma neque contra
 “ patriam cepisse, neque quò periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti cor-
 “ pora nostra ab injuriâ tuta forent: qui miseri, egentes, violentiâ
 “ atque crudelitate sceleratorum, plerique patriâ, sed omnes famâ, at-
 “ que fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more
 “ majorum, lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, corpus liberum ha-
 “ bere: tanta sævitia sceleratorum, atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe ma-
 “ jores nostri miseriti plebis R. decretis suis inopiæ ejus opitulati
 “ sunt: ac novissimè, memoriâ vestra, propter magnitudinem aris
 “ alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe
 “ ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbiâ magistra-
 “ tuum armata, à patribus secessit. At nos non imperium, neque di-
 “ vitias petimus, quarum rerum causâ, bella, atque certamina omnia
 “ inter mortalis sunt: sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum
 “ animâ simul, amittit. Te, atque senatum obtestamur, consularis
 “ miseris civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit,
 “ restituatis, néve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus,
 “ quonam modo, maxumè ulti sanguinem nostrum, pereamus.”

35. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit, si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: eâ misericordiâ atque mansuetudine senatum, populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit. At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optumo cuique literas mittit: se, falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non quò sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset; sed uti resp. quieta foret;

be oppressed with any sedition, a contention with the senate might give birth. But Q. Catulus read a letter before the house, which he had received, (differing in every circumstance from these) as from Catiline. The copy is as follows :

35. " L. CATILINE to Q. Catulus S. Your remarkable honour, which I have by long experience witnessed, and for which I lie under the greatest obligations to you, induces me to acquaint you with my case in this desperate situation of affairs ; and being almost convinced of your undertaking it, I would not defend myself in the unheard-of designs practised against me, but proposed satisfaction to myself, with being conscious of no villainy, which I sincerely assert to be true. Enraged with offences and the invectives cast against me, because I did not succeed in acquiring an office in the state, to which by my diligence and industry I was entitled, according to my usual custom, I took upon myself to defend the cause of the injured. Not but that I could have paid my creditors out of my own estate, whilst the liberality of Aurelia Orestilla would also, with her and her daughter's possessions, have satisfied my friends. But when I saw mean and groveling men honoured with public dignities, and perceived myself rejected upon insignificant pretences, I undertook, considering every thing, the preservation of the rest of my dignity, by methods sufficiently honourable. I would continue this epistle, but am informed the enemy is preparing to engage us. I commend Orestilla to your care, and intreat you, by your children, to guard her against all insults. Farewell."

37. CATILINE continuing a short time with C. Flaminius, in the country near Reate, to furnish the neighbouring people, whom he had before engaged in his design, with arms, went to Manlius's camp with the Fasces, and other regalia. When these preparations were known at Rome, the senate declared " Catiline and Manlius professed enemies of the state, and appointed a day for the other troops, before which, if they submitted, they were promised a free pardon, excepting those convicted of capital offences." Moreover it was decreed, " that the consuls should levy an army, with which Antony was to pursue Catiline as expeditiously as possible, and that Cicero should avert dangers from the city with all possible efficacy." The Roman empire was then, in my opinion, in a most delicate situation, which, tho'

néve ex suâ contentione seditio oriretur. Ab his longè diversas literas Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit; quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infrà scriptum est.

36. “ L. CATILINA Q. Catulo S. Egregia tua fides, re cognita,
 “ grata mihi, magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meæ
 “ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in consilio novo non statui pa-
 “ rare: satisfactionem ex nullâ conscientia de culpâ proponere decre-
 “ vi: quæ medius fidius licet vera mecum recognoscas. Injuriis,
 “ contumeliisq; concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriæque meæ
 “ privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum
 “ causam pro meâ consuetudine suscepi: non, quin æs alienum meis
 “ nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem: cum & alienis nomini-
 “ bus liberalitas Aureliæ Orestillæ, suis, filiaque copiis persolveret:
 “ sed, quòd non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, mēque
 “ falsâ suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam; hōc nomine satis hone-
 “ stas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus.
 “ Plura cū scribere vellem, nunciatum est mihi vim parari. Nunc
 “ Orestillam tibi commendo, tuæque fidei trado: eam ab injuriâ de-
 “ fendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto.”

37. SED ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Reatino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus, atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt; “ senatus Catilinam, & Manlium hostes” judicat; “ cæteræ multitudini diem statuit, antè quam liceret sinè fraude
 “ ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis.” Præterea decernit, “ uti consules delectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Ca-
 “ tilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi præsidio sit.” Eâ tempestate mihi imperium populi R. multo maxumè miserabile visum est: cui

tho' it had reduced all people from the eastern to the western parts of the world to their subjection, and enjoyed the utmost tranquility at home, and immense estates, which mortals are induced to esteem as superior to every other thing ; yet nurtured some citizens, who, with perverse inclinations, laboured to destroy themselves and the republic. For, tho' the senate had made those two proclamations, yet not any of so numerous a body, either allured by the reward, discovered the conspiracy, or quitted the service of Catiline, so violent was the disaffection of the army, which, like an infection, poisoned their minds.

38. NOR were the inclinations of those only who were associates in the design alienated from the state ; but all the people in general, fond of a revolution in the republic, approved of Catiline's intent. And in this affair they seemed to act agreeable to their usual practice : for it is a general maxim, that always in a state the indigent envy the honourable, and honour the depraved ; detest the old constitution, desire a new one ; and being dissatisfied with their own circumstances, endeavour to render every thing confused ; since, in a public disturbance and civil commotions, being crushed with poverty, they subsist without any regard to what they have to lose. But at this time the commonalty was exceeding corrupt upon many accounts ; first, because the most villainous and scandalous rascals, those who, indulging the most luxurious practices, had consumed their fortunes ; nay, all who had been necessitated to quit their country, to avoid conviction of the crimes they had perpetrated, hurried into the city, as a receptacle for all depravity. And on reflecting on the Sullan victory, which had caused common soldiers to be elected senators, and had enriched others with such affluence, that they passed their lives in a manner suitable to the grandeur of princes, they persuaded themselves that the same advantages would accrue to them from joining the party, if successful. Besides this, the youths, who had supported their poverty by daily labour in the fields, allured by public and private largesses, preferred the indolence of the city to the industry of the country. It was those sort of people whom civil disturbances supported, therefore it is an affair which less admits of admiration, that those indigent wretches, of perverse inclinations, big with uncommon hopes, should be equally concerned for the welfare of the republic, as for their own interest. Moreover, those, whose parents had been pro-

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cùm ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium, atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent; fuere tamen cives, qui sèque, rémque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, duobus senati decretis, ex tantâ multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discefferat. Tanta vis morbi, atque uti tabes ple-rosque civium animos invaserat.

38. NEQUE solùm illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeò more suo videbatur facere: nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turbâ, atque seditionibus finè curâ aluntur: quoniam egestas facilè habetur finè damno. Sed urbana plebes ea verò præceps ierat multis de causis. Primùm omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxumè præstabant; item alii, per dedecora, patrimoniiis amissis; postremò omnes, quos flagitium, aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant: dein multi, memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quòd ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, ut regio victu, atque cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoriâ talia sperabat. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerat. Eos, atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quò minùs mirandum est, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxumâ spe, reipub. juxtâ ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum, victoriâ Sullæ, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sanè alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum, at-

que

scribed in the reign of Sylla, whose effects confiscated, and who had been disfranchised, entertained the same hopes from a war as the others, and those of the adverse party to the senate, rather desired to see the state crushed by civil disturbances, than their interest weakened; a depraved affection which had been depressed for many years, but was now again admitted by the state.

39. FOR after the Tribunician authority was restored, in the consulship of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus, rash daring youths, being invested with that great dignity, began, by inveighing against the senate, to render them odious to the commons; and then, by giving them largesses, and promising many to be of the utmost service to them, they tempted them the more, and thus established power, which could gain any point. But the greatest part of the nobility endeavoured to attenuate this authority, under pretence of enhancing the power of the senate, tho' for promoting their own interest. For, to reveal the truth in a few words, at that time all the authors of the confusions in the state, under honourable pretexts, some of defending the rights of the people, others of promoting the power of the senate, pretending to do every thing for the good of the republic, endeavoured to promote their own interest, without any regard to moderation or decency; and both parties, when victorious, practised the greatest severity.

40. BUT after Cn. Pompey was sent against the pirates, and to carry on the war against Mithridates, the power of the people declined, and that of a few others was advanced. Those only were invested with public authority, had provinces and all other places given them, lived in an uninterrupted tranquility and grandeur, not in the least apprehensive of danger, and terrified the rest by their impeachments, that the commonalty might be rendered more tractable. But as soon as there was any likelihood of a revolution, they were inspired with fresh vigour, applying themselves to their usual practices. And if Catiline had been victorious in the first engagement, or had been equally successful, terrible destruction and calamity would have overwhelmed the state; nor would the victors long have enjoyed the sweets of victory; for he, whose interest was prevalent, would have deprived them, wearied and distressed, of their power, and infringed their liberty. Yet there were some who were not associated in the conspiracy, who at first joined Catiline's interest, amongst those
was

que senatu, partium erant, conturbari rempublic. quàm minùs valere ipsi malebant. Id adeò malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

39. NAM postquam Cn. Pompeio, & M. Craſſo Coff. tribunitia potestas restituta est; homines adolescentes, summam potestatem naſti, quibus ætas, animùsque ferox erat, cœpere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari, potentésque fieri. Contra eos summâ ope nitabatur pleraque nobilitas, senati sub specie, pro suâ magnitudine. Namque uti paucis verum absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublic. agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti jura populi defenderent, pars, quò senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro suâ quisque potentiâ certabant: neque illis modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

40. SED, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum, atque Mithridaticum missus est; plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliâque omnia tenere: ipsi innoxii, florentes, sinè metu ætatem agere, cæterósque judiciis terrere, quò plebem in magistratu placidiùs tractarent. Sed ubi primùm dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quòd si primo prælio Catilina superior, aut æquâ manu discessisset; profectò magna clades, atque calamitas rempubl. oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius eâ uti licuisset; quin defessis & exfanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In his erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius;

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quem

was A. Fulvius a senator's son, who his father ordered to be sent for back and put to death. At this time Lentulus, acting every thing agreeable to the orders of Catiline at Rome, endeavoured to gain, by his or others solicitations, those who were, by their depraved morals or ill success in life, induced to rebel, not only citizens, but any sort of people who could be of advantage in forwarding the execution of his design.

41. WITH this view he employs P. Umbrenus to enquire for the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and, if possible, to engage them in the war, being persuaded that since the province of the Allobroges, and many private persons, were greatly involved in debt, and the Gauls were naturally inclined to war, they might with no difficulty be brought over to the party. Umbrenus having been a factor in Gaul, was acquainted with most of the principal persons. Wherefore, without any delay, as soon as he saw the ambassadors in the Forum, he briefly asked them what situation their affairs were in; and, as if he condoled their condition, he began to enquire what likelihood there appeared of terminating them? And when they had inveighed against the avarice with which the magistracy was affected, and accused the senators of not relieving them, declaring that death was the only port wherein to moor their miseries, "I, says then Umbrenus, if you will only act in such a manner as may be suitable to the character of man, will inform you of a method, which will banish all these calamities." The Allobroges, upon hearing this, and entertaining great hopes, desired Umbrenus to pity them, saying that there was nothing so terrible or difficult which they would not put in execution, to rid the state of the great incumbrance of debt. Upon this he carries them to D. Brutus's house, since it was near the Forum, neither was he unacquainted with the design, because of Sempronia. For Brutus was then at Rome. Umbrenus sent for Gabinius, that his words might have greater efficacy, in whose presence he informs them of the conspiracy, names those who were engaged in it, and many of all orders who were not concerned, that he might make them conceive greater hopes. After which he dismissed them, on their assuring him of their interest.

42. BUT the Allobroges debated some time what party they should join. In one scale were their debts, their desire for war, and the great

quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus, aut fortunâ novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solùm cives, sed cujuscumque modi genus hominum, quod modò usui bello foret.

41. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat; eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans, publicè privatimque ære alieno oppressos, præterea quòd naturâ gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facilè ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Galliâ negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque finè morâ, ubi primùm legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, & quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere cœpit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritiâ magistratuum, accusare senatum, quòd in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare: "At ego, inquit, vobis, si modò viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, quâ tanta mala ista effugiatis." Hæc ubi dixit; Allobroges, in spem maxumam adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissimè facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quòd foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam: nam tum Brutus ab Româ aberat. Præterea Gabinium arcessit, quò major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo præsentem conjurationem aperit: nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios; quo legatis animus amplior esset: dein eos pollicitos operam suam, domum dimittit.

42. SED Allobroges diu in incertum habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In alterâ parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces

great benefit they had to hope from victory; but, in the other scale, there were more advantages which would accrue to them, favourable designs, and certain rewards, substituted to uncertain hopes. After their reflecting on this, that, wherein the interest of the republic was, prevailed. Upon which they discover the affair, as they had been acquainted with it, to Q. Fabius Sanga, whose patronage they had used in the concerns of their state. Cicero being informed of their design by Sanga, instructs the embassadors how to manage the affair, by pretending to shew a great zeal for the design, by procuring themselves admittance into the company of the rest of the associates, and promising their interest, and to endeavour to gain as convincing a proof as possible against them.

43. ABOUT this time there was a disturbance in Gallia Ulterior and Citerior, and also in the territories of Picene, Brutii, and Apulia; for those, who had been sent by Catiline, conducted every thing imprudently, confusedly, and madly; and by their nightly meetings, carrying of arms backwards and forwards, and hurry and rash proceedings, caused more fear than appearances of danger. The pretor Q. Metellus Celer, having been authorized by a decree of the senate, tried, and threw many of them into chains, in which manner C. Murena in hither Gaul also acted, who was lieutenant-governor of the province.

44. BUT Lentulus, with many others who were the principal persons concerned in the conspiracy, having levied, in their opinion, a competent force, resolved that when Catiline should come unto Fæfulæ with his army, L. Bestia, tribune of the people, having assembled them together, should complain of Cicero's manner of acting, and accuse him, the best of consuls, as the cause of so terrible a war; that this signal being given, the rest of the associates, on the following night, should every one perform his proper part, committed to their care in the following manner. Statilius and Gabinus, with a large detachment, should set fire at the same time to twelve places of the city, which might favour their design; that this disturbance might facilitate their gaining an admittance to the consul and others, for whom an ambuscade was laid. Cethegus should force the gate of Cicero, and attack him with his troops, whilst others were perpetrating villainies of the same nature, and the sons of the nobility should assassinate their parents; which being effected, they should, in this great confusion, occasioned by fire and sword, go over and join Catiline.

in spe victoriæ : at in alterâ majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incertâ spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volentibus, tandem vicit fortuna reip. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocínio civitas plurimùm utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcipit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent ; cæteros adeant : bene polliceantur, dentque operam, ut eos quàm maxumè manifestos habeant.

43. IISDEM ferè temporibus, in Galliâ citeriore, atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apuliâ motus erant. Namque illi, quos antè Catilina dimiserat, inconsultè, ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agere : nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quàm periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex S. C. causâ cognitâ, in vincula conjecerat ; item in citeriore Galliâ C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

44. AT Romæ Lentulus cum cæteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, uti videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerat, uti, cùm Catilina in agrum Fæfulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus pleb. concione habitâ, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, belliquè gravissimæ invidiam optumo consuli imposeret ; eo signo, proximâ nocte cætera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exequeretur. Sed ea divisa hõc modo dicebantur : Statilius & Gabinius uti cum magnâ manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, cæterosque, quibus infidiæ parabantur, fieret. Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium ; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent ; simul, cæde, & incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc pa-

During these preparations, Cethegus always accused the allies of inactivity; that they, by their delays and raising difficulties, let slip the kindest opportunity; that in executing such an important project, action was more necessary than debates; and that he, acting in concert with a few others, whilst the rest indulged their indolence, would set upon the senate. This person was naturally daring and hot, and thought acting strenuously, and vigorously, conduced much to the success of the design.

45. BUT the Allobroges, agreeable to the instructions of Cicero, were introduced by the interest of Gabinius to the other associates, where they demanded an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, under their seals, that they might carry it to their citizens; representing, unless that was done, it would be impracticable to persuade them to engage in so grand an affair, which was granted by the rest, who had not the least suspicion of their intent. Cassius promised, that he himself would soon come there, and quitted the city a little before the ambassadors. Lentulus sent a Crotonian named T. Volturcius with them, that the alliance which was proposed might be confirmed by the Allobroges with Catiline himself, before they went home, and gave Volturcius a letter to Catiline, of which the following is a copy. "The bearer hereof will inform you who I am. Reflect with yourself, in what a melancholy situation you are plung'd; remember that you are a man; and consider what measures you must take. Ask the interest of all, even of slaves." Moreover, he desired him to ask Catiline, what he meant by rejecting the assistance of slaves, since he was voted by the senate an enemy to the state. That all his orders were executed in the city, and therefore he should immediately march towards it.

46. THINGS being in this situation, and the night appointed for the departure of the ambassadors, Cicero was informed by them of all their proceedings, and ordered L. Val. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, the pretors, to seize the attendance of the Allobroges by stratagem at the Mulvian bridge, acquainting them with the affair, and leaving them to conduct the rest, as they should think most proper. Those military gentlemen, agreeable to the instructions they received, without any confusion, placed themselves with a guard under the bridge, and when the ambassadors, with Volturcius, came to that place, both parties

rata, atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignaviâ sociorum : illos dubitando, & dies prolatando, magnas opportunitates corrumpere ; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse : seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Naturâ ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat : maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

45. SED Allobroges ex præcepto Ciceronis per Gabinium cæteros conveniunt : ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant iurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant : aliter haud faciliè eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Cæteri nihil suspicantes dant : Cassius semper eò brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulò ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam Crotoniensem mittit ; uti Allobroges, priùs quàm domum pergerent cum Catilinâ, datâ atque acceptâ fide societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat : quarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

“ Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in
 “ quantâ calamitate sis, & memineris, te virum esse : consideres,
 “ quid tuæ rationes postulent ; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab
 “ infimis.” Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat : cùm ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet : in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit : ne cunctetur ipse propiùs accedere.

46. His rebus ita actis, constitutâ nocte, quâ proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco, & C. Pomptino prætoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant : rem omnem aperit, cujus gratiâ mittebantur : cætera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant. Homines militares, sinè tumultu præfidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occultè pontem obsident. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt, simul utrimque cla-

parties gave a great shout. The Gauls soon being informed of the affair, surrendered to the pretors. But Volturcius soliciting the assistance of his men, for a short time defended himself with the sword, till he saw the ambassadors quit his party. Upon which, earnestly desiring Pomptinus to save his life, since he was his acquaintance, and at last terrified and disordered, he delivered himself up to the pretors as enemies.

47. THE consul was immediately acquainted with what was acted, and was agitated by concern and joy at the same time. He was pleased, that the conspiracy being discovered, the city was free from danger which had menaced; but on the other hand, as the persons, associates in the plot, were of great dignity, he could scarce resolve what measures to take against them. He was apprehensive that their punishment might embarrass him; yet thought, that if they were unpunished, it would be detrimental to the state. Wherefore, having resolved with himself, he summons Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius Gabinus, and Ceparius of Terracina, who was preparing for a journey into Apulia, to promote servile commotions, to appear before him. The others appeared immediately. But Ceparius, being informed of his design, quitted the city just before the Lictor came. The consul, with Lentulus in his hand, because pretor, brought him before the senate, and ordered the rest to go to the temple of Concord under a guard. There he convened the senate, and many being convened upon this occasion, he introduces Volturcius, together with the ambassadors, and orders Flaccus, who was the pretor, to bring the packet with the letters, which the ambassadors had given him.

48. VOLTURCIUS being asked about his journey and the letters, what was his intent, and why he went that journey; at first formed some excuses, omitting to speak of the conspiracy. But after his pardon was granted him upon the public faith, if he would discover the affair, so far as he was acquainted with it, he declared that he, a few days before, was engaged in it by Gabinus and Ceparius; that he was informed of no more than the ambassadors were; that he only used to hear Gabinus say, that P. Autronius, Ser. Sulla, L. Verguntius, and many others, were associates in the design. The Gauls strengthened his assertion, and accused Lentulus, who pleaded ignorance, not only of having wrote those letters, but of the expressions he used, saying, that by the Sibylline prophecy, the kingdom of
Rome

mor exortus est : Galli, citò cognito consilio, finè morâ prætöribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus cæteros, gladio se à multitudine defendit ; dein, ubi à legatis desertus est, multa priùs de salute suâ Pomptinum obtestatus, quòd ei notus erat, postremò timidus ac vitæ diffidens, velut hostibus, sese prætöribus dedit.

47. QUIBUS rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere. Lætabatur intelligens conjuratione patefactâ, civitatem periculis ereptam esse : porrò autem anxius erat, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid factò opus esset ; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itémque Ceparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Cæteri finè morâ veniunt. Ceparius, paulò antè domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quòd prætör erat, ipse manu tenens, in senatum perducit ; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eò senatum advocat, magnâque frequentiâ ejus ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit ; Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas à legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

48. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremò quid, aut quâ de causâ, consilii habuisset ; primò, fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione ; pòst, ubi fide publicâ dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit : se paucis antè diebus à Gabinio, & Cepario socium ascitum : nihil amplius scire, quàm legatos : tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in eâ conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur : at Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter literas, sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat, ex li-

bris

Rome was decreed to Three of the Cornelii, two of whom, Cinna and Sylla, had enjoyed the government, and that he was the third to whom Fate had assigned that honour. Moreover, it was the twentieth year from the firing the Capitol, in which the Aruspices, from the prodigies that were seen, asserted that there would be a civil war very destructive to the state. Upon this accusation they read the letters, and when all had owned their seals, the senate decreed that Lentulus should be divested of his command, and be confined with the rest in the houses of private gentlemen. Agreeable to this decree, Lentulus was delivered up to P. Lentulus, then ædile, Cethegus to Cornificius, Statilius to C. Cæsar, Gabinius to M. Crassus, and Ceparius (who being apprehended in his flight, was brought back to the city) to Cn. Terentius, a senator.

49. DURING these transactions, the people, who, too fond of a revolution, first favoured his design, being convinced of the discovery of the whole, changed their opinions, cursed the precepts of Catiline, and greatly applauded Cicero; and since they were now unalarm'd with the apprehensions of slavery, they indulged joy and mirth. As for the other hostile designs, they thought they might be more advantageous than detrimental; but they looked upon the firing of the city, as an extravagant and desperate intent, entirely destructive to them, who had only a few cloaths, and such necessaries of life. After their condemnation, L. Tarquinius was brought to the senate, who, they said, was taken up in his journey to Catiline. He declared he would discover all, if the public faith might be granted him for his pardon; and being ordered by the consul to inform them of what he knew, he differed very little in his declaration from Volturcius, concerning the intention of firing the town, assassinating those of an honourable character, and advancing to the city. Moreover he asserted, that Marcus Crassus had sent him to desire Catiline not to be intimidated at the confinement of Cethegus, Lentulus, and the rest, and rather to hasten his march to the city, to animate the associates, and to facilitate the escape of the prisoners. But when Tarquin named Crassus, a man of great dignity, immensely rich, and of extensive interest, some thought the information false, and others, tho' they credited what he said, yet because in such a situation, so popular a man

bris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi: Cinnam, atque Sullam antea; se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea, ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur, perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, ut, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus, itempue cæteri, in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Craffo, Ceparius (nam is paulò antè ex fugâ retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

49. INTEREA plebes, conjuratione patefactâ, quæ primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutatâ mente Catilinæ consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad cælum tollere; velut ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiâ agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quàm detrimento fore; incendium verò crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxumè calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano, & cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat: quem, ad Catilinam proficiscentem, ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is, cum se diceret de conjuratione indicaturum, si fides pùblica data esset, jussus à consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem ferè, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: præterea, se missum à M. Craffo, qui Catilinæ nunciaret, ne eum Lentulus, & Cethegus, aliique ex conjuratione deprehenfi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quò & cæterorum animos reficeret, & illi faciliùs è periculo eriperentur. Sed, ubi Tarquinius Craffum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summâ potentiâ; alii rem incredibilem rati; pars, tametsi verum existumabat, tamen, quia in

man was rather to be allured than exasperated, most of them being privately obliged to Crassus, exclaimed the informer perjured, and petitioned the house to enter upon that concern directly. Wherefore, according to the directions of Cicero, the house decreed that the information of Tarquin seemed false, and that he should be confined, and not discharged, till he should discover who incited him to declare this falsity. Some then believed it was a design of P. Autronius, that by naming him as an associate, he might protect the rest. Others said that Tarquin did it through Cicero, lest Crassus, according to his usual practice, should by his interest palliate the wickedness of the conspirators, and disorder the state. I heard Crassus afterwards say, that it was a design laid by Cicero, to stain his character. But at this present juncture, Q. Catulus and C. Piso could neither, by their interest, solicitations nor bribes, engage Cicero to persuade the Allobroges, or any other person, to name Cæsar falsely as an associate; for both were greatly incensed against him. Piso, for his impeaching him of having un-equitably punished a person of Gallia Transpadana; and Catulus, who had served the most important offices of the state, for being defeated by his interest, tho' young, when he stood candidate for the office of pontifex. This affair seemed plausible enough, because he, through his private magnificence, and the grand shews he exhibited to the people, had contracted immense debts. But when the consul could not be induced to engage in such a design, they, by going about, and mentioning what they said they had heard from Volturcius, and the Allobroges, rendered Cæsar so odious to the people, that some of the equestrian order, who were upon duty at the temple of Concord, either excited by the apprehensions of danger, or induced by some other generous motive, by which they might discover their affection for the state, threatened to assault Cæsar, at his departure from the senate house. During these transactions in the house, and the decreeing the Allobroges and Volturcius, rewards for their approved discovery; the freemen, and
some

tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda, quam exagitanda, videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant, indicem falsum esse; deque eâ re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, Cicerone consulente, frequens senatus decernit, Tarquinii indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum: neque amplius potestatem faciundam; nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore, qui existumarent indicium illud à P. Autronio machinatum: quò facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium à Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, remp. conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus, & C. Piso neque gratiâ, neque precibus, neque pretio Ciceronem impellere quivere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem C. Cæsar falsò nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso, oppugnatus in judicio repetundarum propter cujusdam transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatûs odio incensus, quòd, extremâ ætate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur: quòd is, privatim egregiâ liberalitate, publicè maxumis muneribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singillatim circumeundo, atque ementiendo, quæ se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflagrant; usque adeò, uti nonnulli equites R. qui, præsidii causâ, cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate impulsæ, quò studium suum in remp. clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, & dum legatis

some of the clients of Lentulus, by every method, solicited in the streets the workmen and slaves to rescue their patron, and sometimes in beating the heads of the multitude, who, for the sake of money, used to engage against the state. And Cethegus, by messengers, desired his family and freemen, who were all versed in the execution of villanies, to draw up in a body, and to break into him. But Cicero the consul, being apprized of their intent, posted such guards as were necessary on this occasion; and having convened the senate, desired to be informed of their pleasure with regard to the prisoners. A full house had before judged them guilty of treason against the state. Then D. Junius Silanus, as being consul elect, was first desired to give his vote; and he voted that punishment should be inflicted on the prisoners, as also L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they should be apprehended. But being biased by the speech of Cæsar, he assented to the determination of Tib. Nero, which was that this affair should be deferred, till the house was guarded by a more numerous body of troops. When the consul desired Cæsar to give his vote, he addressed the house in the following words.

50. " HONoured Senators, in debating on delicate concerns, it is
 " necessary that all men should be unaffected with the biases of en-
 " mity and friendship, inveteracy and compassion; for as long as
 " those interpose, in vain does our mind search for truth; nor is
 " there an instance extant, of a man's consulting his interest and
 " passion at the same time. Where you apply the force of your un-
 " derstanding, every thing is effected. But if passion affects, it biases;
 " and all the attempts of reason are frustrated. I could instance se-
 " veral examples of crowned heads, and also states, who, influenced
 " by anger and compassion, have resolved upon things entirely in-
 " consistent with their good; but I chuse rather to inform you of
 " the conduct and decorum of our ancestors, who spurned the fla-
 " very of the passions. In the war with Perſes king of Macedon;
 " the state of Rhodes, the very people whom our assistance had en-
 " riched and rendered powerful, continued treacherous, and our invete-
 " rate enemies; but when the war was terminated, and our ancestors
 " debated

Allobrogum, & T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur : liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices, atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant : partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio remp. vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam, atque liberos suos, lectos, & exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, uti grege factò cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præfidiis, uti res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulò antè frequens senatus judicaverat contra remp. fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quòd eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, & præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat : isque postea permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quòd de eâ re, præfidiis abditis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam à consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

50. “ Omnis homines, P. C. qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab
 “ odio, amicitia, irâ, atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud fa-
 “ cile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt : neque quisquam om-
 “ nium lubrici simul & usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, va-
 “ let : si lubrico possidet, ea dominatur ; animus nihil valet. Magna
 “ mihi copia est memorandi P. C. qui reges, aut qui populi, irâ, aut
 “ misericordia impulsæ, malè consuluerint : sed ea malo dicere, quæ
 “ majores nostri contra lubricum animi sui rectè atque ordine fecere.
 “ Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum ci-
 “ vitas, magna, atque magnifica, quæ populi R. opibus creverat, in-
 “ fida, atque adversa nobis fuit : sed postquam, bello confecto, de
 “ Rhodiis

debated on that concern, lest they should be censured as persons
 who enter upon a war to enrich themselves, and not to resent the
 injuries received, dismissed them unpunished. Tho' in all the
 Punic wars, the Carthaginians had perpetrated the most detestable
 actions, both in peace, and during a truce, the Romans would
 never (how inviting so ever the opportunity might be) retaliate
 such usage. They being more attentive to their own glory, than
 to the revenge they might justly have taken against such perfidious
 allies. Agreeable to this practice, fathers, you must also take care,
 lest the crimes of Lentulus and the rest of the prisoners bias you
 more than is consistent with your dignity, and you consult how
 you may indulge your displeasure, rather than preserve your cha-
 racter. For if you can find a punishment adequate to their crimes,
 I approve of your new resolution; but if it exceeds your compre-
 hension to invent a punishment equally as terrible as their attempt
 was, I vote we treat them in such a manner as the law di-
 rects. Most of these who have before me delivered their senti-
 ments, have handsomely and nobly pitied the situation of the state,
 have summed up the cruelties, which must necessarily ensue in a
 war, the misfortunes attending the conquered, how rapes are com-
 mitted on their virgins, what abominable things are practised up-
 on their boys, what tender infants are seized from the embraces
 of a parent, how matrons are exposed to the lust of the victors,
 in what manner the temples of the Gods are plundered, without
 any regard to religion, how fire and sword destroy every thing;
 and how crouded all places are with heaps of the slain, and full of
 sorrow and anxiety. But, O ye Gods! to what end is this oration?
 Is it to render you the more incensed against the conspiracy? Be
 assured every person, whom these vile and detestable crimes could
 not move, will be affected with my oration. No, it is not so:
 the injuries received by mortals are not so slightly regarded; but
 men have rather too quick a sense of their wrongs. But all per-
 sons are not allowed to gratify their revenge in the same manner.
 If those whose share in life is but inconsiderable, and are of a mean
 original, thro' inadvertency act any thing amiss, few are acquainted
 with it; so like is their fame to their fortune. Whereas, if the
 actions of those who enjoy the greatest offices in the state, and
 bear an eminent character in life, are known by every person.
 Thus people in the best circumstances are allowed the least liberty,
 since no party-zeal must affect them, nor hatred, much less anger.
 The

“ Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis,
 “ quàm injuriæ bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere.
 “ Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cùm sæpe Carthaginienses & in pace,
 “ & per inducias multa nefanda facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per
 “ occasionem talia fecere : magis, quod se dignum foret, quàm quod
 “ in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc item vobis providendum
 “ est, P. C. ne plùs valeat apud vos P. Lentuli, & cæterorum scélus,
 “ quàm vestra dignitas ; neu magis iræ vestræ, quàm famæ, consu-
 “ latis. Nam si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum con-
 “ filium approbo : sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat ;
 “ iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum,
 “ quí ante me sententias dixerunt, compositè atque magnificè casum
 “ reip. miserati sunt : quæ belli sævitia esset ; quæ victis acciderent,
 “ enumeravere ; rapi virgines, pueros ; divelli liberos à parentum
 “ complexu ; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuisse ;
 “ fana, atque domos expoliari ; cædem, incendia fieri : postremò
 “ armis, cadaveribus, cruore, atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per
 “ Deos immortalis, quò illa oratio pertinuit ? an, uti vos infestos con-
 “ jurationi faceret ? scilicet, quem res tanta, atque tam atrox non
 “ permovit, eum oratio accendet ! Non ita est : neque cuiquam mor-
 “ talium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur : multi eas graviùs æquo habuere.
 “ Sed alia aliis licentia est, P. C. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam agunt,
 “ si quid iracundiâ deliquere, pauci sciunt ; fama, atque fortuna eo-
 “ rum pares sunt : qui, magno imperio præditi, in excelsò ætatem a-
 “ gunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxumâ fortunâ
 “ minuma licentia est : neque studere, neque odisse, sed minumè irasci
 “ decet

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 “ enumeravere ; rapi virgines, pueros ; divelli liberos à parentum
 “ complexu ; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuissent ;
 “ fana, atque domos expoliari ; cædem, incendia fieri : postremò
 “ armis, cadaveribus, cruore, atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per
 “ Deos immortalis, quò illa oratio pertinuit ? an, uti vos infestos con-
 “ jurationi faceret ? scilicet, quem res tanta, atque tam atrox non
 “ permovit, eum oratio accendat ! Non ita est : neque cuiquam mor-
 “ talium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur : multi eas graviùs æquo habuere.
 “ Sed alia aliis licentia est, P. C. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam agunt,
 “ si quid iracundiâ deliquere, pauci sciunt ; fama, atque fortuna eo-
 “ rum pares sunt : qui, magno imperio præditi, in excelsa ætatem a-
 “ gunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxumâ fortunâ
 “ minuma licentia est : neque studere, neque odisse, sed minumè irasci
 “ decet

“ The passion, which is called anger in some, is looked upon, in dig-
 “ nified persons, as pride and cruelty. Indeed, noble senators, my
 “ opinion is this, that no punishment is adequate to their crime. But
 “ most people are apt to think on that which was the last subject of
 “ determination, and without any regard to the crime which caused
 “ the punishment, only, in such cases as this, debate concerning it,
 “ if that should be a little too cruel. I am fully convinced that
 “ D. Silanus, that generous worthy person, spoke what he said,
 “ thro’ a singular zeal for the good of the state, neither influenced
 “ in an affair of such moment, by interest or enmity; so well am I
 “ acquainted with his just morals and modesty. But his sentiments
 “ don’t appear to me to be the least cruel; (for what punishment in-
 “ flicted on such men can be called cruel?) they only seem to me
 “ quite inconsistent with the customs of the republic. It is, I am
 “ persuaded, Silanus your apprehensions of danger, or the destru-
 “ ction intended the state, which induced you consul elect, to deter-
 “ mine to inflict a punishment, for which there is no precedent in our
 “ laws. As for your apprehensions of danger, it would be needless to
 “ say any thing, since, by the good conduct of our diligent consul, a
 “ sufficient force has been levied. And as to their punishment, I
 “ may say what is really true, that in a miserable and mournful
 “ situation, death is a gate for affliction, not a punishment; and
 “ that it dissolves all the cares of human life, after which no sor-
 “ row or joy can be capable of affecting you. But why, by the pow-
 “ ers above, did you not also determine to lash them severely, be-
 “ fore they were punished with death? Was it because it was a pro-
 “ ceeding prohibited by the Porcian law? Were not other laws extant,
 “ which also forbid a condemned citizen to be put to death, and per-
 “ mit him to evade that punishment by being banished; or is it be-
 “ cause it is more cruel to lash than to put to death immediately? But
 “ what punishment is too tormenting or too severe for men convicted
 “ of such crimes. Suppose it was because it is a milder punishment, of
 “ what signification is it, in an affair of so small concern, to observe the
 “ laws, when they are infringed in that of greater importance. But where
 “ is the person, who will censure the resolution taken against villains,
 “ whose sole interest is the destruction of the state? Time and for-
 “ tune, who governs all people as it seems agreeable to her. What-
 “ ever

“ decet. Quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio, superbia
 “ atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, P. C. omnis
 “ cruciatus minores, quàm facinora illorum, esse. Sed plerique mor-
 “ tales postrema meminere; & in hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum
 “ obliti, de pœnâ differunt, si ea paulò severior fuerit. D. Silanum,
 “ virum fortem atque strenuum, certè scio, quæ dixerit, studio reip.
 “ dixisse, neque illum in tantâ re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere:
 “ eos mores, eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verùm sententia ejus
 “ mihi non crudelis, (quod enim in talis homines crudele fieri po-
 “ test?) sed aliena à rep. nostrâ videtur. Nam profectò aut metus,
 “ aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genùs pœnæ
 “ novum decernere. De timore, supervacaneum est differere, cùm
 “ præsertim diligentiam clarissimi viri consulis, tanta præsidia sint in ar-
 “ mis. De pœna, possumus equidem dicere id quod res habet; in
 “ luctu, atque miseriis, mortem ærumnarum requiem, non crucia-
 “ tum, esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrà neque
 “ curæ, neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per Deos immortalis, quam-
 “ obrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti priùs verberibus in eos ani-
 “ madverteretur? An, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliæ leges item con-
 “ demnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent.
 “ An quia gravius est verberari, quàm necari? quid autem acerbum,
 “ aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia
 “ levius est: qui convenit in minore negotio legem observare, cùm
 “ eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendat, quod in par-
 “ ricidas reip. decretum erit? tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido
 “ gentibus moderatur. Illis meritò accidet, quidquid evenerit: cæ-

“ ever misfortunes happen them, they justly merit. But do
 “ you, noble senators, consider on the measures you take against
 “ them. All depraved examples derived their originals from begin-
 “ nings, not in the least detrimental : but when the supreme com-
 “ mand is enjoyed by ignorant persons, and those whose morals are
 “ corrupted, the new example is transferred from men of merit, to
 “ those who can boast no merit, nor are proper persons to have such
 “ a precedent before them.

51. “ WHEN the Athenians were subdued by the Lacedæmonians,
 “ thirty men were appointed for the administration of affairs, who
 “ at first, without any legal form of proceeding, put to death every
 “ person, either suspected of villainy, or who was under a general
 “ odium. At this the people were pleased, and approved of their
 “ proceedings ; but when, in a short time, this headstrong inclina-
 “ tion preyed upon their souls, they to gratify it, took off persons of
 “ an honourable character, as well as those of an opposite, and ter-
 “ rified the rest with apprehensions of the same. Thus did the state,
 “ embarrassed with slavery, undergo the heaviest calamities for their
 “ foolish untimed joy. Since our time, when the victor Sylla ordered
 “ Damasippus, and those of the same character, to be put to death,
 “ who, by the distress of the state, had acquired fortunes, what person
 “ censured his proceedings ? They affirmed, that those villainous and
 “ seditious persons, who formed designs inconsistent with the safety of
 “ the state, justly merited their punishment. But this proceeding
 “ was the first scene of that great slaughter which ensued. For the
 “ person of that faction, who either coveted another man’s house in
 “ town, or a country seat, nay even a vest or a piece of plate, en-
 “ deavoured, by his interest, to get him inrolled in the list of the
 “ proscribed. Thus they who with pleasure had heard of the fate of
 “ Damasippus, tho’ not meriting such usage, were themselves soon
 “ after precipitated into destruction. Nor did this vile practice cease, till
 “ those engaged in the design of Sylla had procured themselves fortunes
 “ with which they conceived a satisfaction. Not that I am in the least
 “ apprehensive of those measures being taken by our consul Cicero,
 “ or in these times. But in a large state there is a great diversity of tem-
 “ pers ; and it may happen that at another time, when some other per-
 “ son is consul, and intrusted with the command of an army, he may
 “ commit a mistake ; and when he, having this for a precedent,
 “ shall, by a decree of the Senate, draw his sword, who can put an
 “ end to his commission, or regulate him ?

“ terùm vos, P. C. quid in alios statuat, considerate. Omnia mala
 “ exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt: sed, ubi imperium ad igna-
 “ ros, aut minùs bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis,
 “ & idoneis, ad indignos, & non idoneos transfertur.

51. “ LACEDÆMONII, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros im-
 “ posuere, qui repub. tractarent. Hi primò cœpere pessimum
 “ quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: eo populus læ-
 “ tari, & meritò dicere fieri. Pòst, ubi paulatim licentia crevit,
 “ juxtà bonos & malos lubricinosè interficere, cæteros metu terrere.
 “ Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit.
 “ Nostri memoriâ victor Sulla, cùm Damasippum, & alios hujus-
 “ modi, qui malo reip. creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum
 “ ejus laudabat? Homines scelestos, & factiosos, qui seditionibus
 “ rep. exagitaverant, meritò necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ
 “ initium cladis fuit. Namque uti quisque domum, aut villam, po-
 “ stremò aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat ope-
 “ ram, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ità illi, quibus Dama-
 “ sippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, paulò pòst ipsi trahebantur: neque priùs
 “ finis jugulandi fuit, quàm Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque
 “ ego hoc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor. Sed in
 “ magnâ civitate multa & varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore,
 “ alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero
 “ credi. Ubi hòc exemplo, per senatûs decretum, consul gladium
 “ eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur?

52. " Our ancestors, noble gentlemen, were neither destitute of
 " conduct nor fortitude ; neither were they biaſſed by haughtineſs,
 " from imitating the inſtitutes of others, if only laudable. They
 " borrowed their arms and other military weapons from the Samnites,
 " and moſt of the regalia from the Etrurians. Nay, in fine, they
 " attentively practiſed at home the things which merited an imitation
 " abroad, whether amongſt allies or enemies, and preferred imitating to
 " envying the good. At that time, agreeable to the cuſtoms of the
 " Greeks, they laſhed citizens, and when condemned, put them to
 " death. But after the ſtate arrived at the higheſt pitch of grandeur,
 " and factions prevailed amongſt the multitude, when the innocent
 " were circumvented, and ſuch villanies practiſed, then the Porcian
 " law, and other laws were eſtabliſhed, by which thoſe convicted of
 " capital crimes, were admitted to evade the puniſhment of being put
 " to death by baniſhment. It is this, illuſtrious gentlemen, it is this,
 " I look upon as a ſufficient reaſon, why we ſhould not reſolve upon
 " any thing new, nor is it evident that they, who from ſo inconfider-
 " able an original had made this empire ſo extenſive and flouriſhing, had
 " more conduct and wiſdom than us, who can ſcarce retain the poſ-
 " ſeſſions ſo well acquired for us. You may ſay then, muſt we diſ-
 " miſs them to ſtrengthen the army of Catiline ? No. I vote that
 " all their effects ſhould be conſiſcated, and they cloſely confined in
 " ſome powerful borough ; that no perſon ſhould ever make a motion
 " in the ſenate, or treat with the people in their favour ; and that he
 " who ſhall act contrary to theſe orders, ſhall be by the ſenate de-
 " clared an enemy to his country, and the republic."

53. AFTER Cæſar had finiſhed his Addreſs, the reſt aſſented, ſome
 to one party, and ſome to another ; but M. Porcius Cato being deſired
 to give his vote, he addreſſed the houſe to this effect :

54. " My ſentiments, illuſtrious ſenators, differ in every circum-
 " ſtance from yours. When I reflect on this concern, and the dan-
 " gerous ſituation of the ſtate, and on the meaſures adviſed to be
 " taken by ſome ; the ſubject of their debate ſeems to me to be only
 " the puniſhment which thoſe villains merit, who have conſpired
 " the ruin of the ſtate, their parents, the entire ſubverſion of re-
 " ligion. But the preſent concerns require us rather to conſult, how
 " to

52. " MAJORES nostri, P. C. neque consilii, neque audaciæ um-
 " quam eguere : neque superbia obstabat, quò minùs instituta aliena,
 " si modò proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab
 " Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumserunt :
 " postremò, quòd ubique apud focios, aut hostis idoneum videbatur,
 " cum summo studio domi exsequebantur : imitari, quàm invidere
 " bonis, malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore Græciæ morem imitati,
 " verberibus animadvertabant in civis, condemnatis summum suppli-
 " cium fumebant. Postquam respub. adolevit, & multitudine civium
 " factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri
 " cœpere : tunc lex Porcia, aliæque leges paratæ sunt ; quibus legi-
 " bus exilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego causam, P. C.
 " quò minùs consilium novum capiamus, in primis magnam puto.
 " Profectò virtus, atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis
 " opibus tantum imperium fecere, quàm in nobis, qui ea bene parta
 " vix retinemus. Placet igitur eos dimitti, & augeri exercitum Ca-
 " tilinæ ? minumè : sed ita censeo : publicandas eorum pecunias :
 " ipsos : in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxumè opibus va-
 " lent : neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat, néve cum populo
 " agat : qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra remp. &
 " salutem omnium facturum."

53. POSTQUAM Cæsar dicendi finem fecit ; cæteri verbo, alius alii,
 variè assentiebantur : at M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam, hujusce-
 modi orationem habuit.

54. " LONGE mihi alia mens est, P. C. cùm res, atque pericula
 " nostra confidero, & cùm sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse re-
 " puto. Illi mihi differuisse videntur de pœnâ eorum, qui patriæ,
 " parentibus, aris, atque focis suis bellum paravere : res autem mo-
 net,

“ to defeat their designs, than how to proceed in punishing them.
 “ As for other misdemeanors, you may punish them when committed;
 “ but if you decline determining on some method to prevent
 “ the execution of this design, when it is accomplished, you’ll in
 “ vain look for redress from the law. When the city is seized, no-
 “ thing will be left to the conquered. But, by the powers above, I
 “ address myself to you who have always expressed more regard for
 “ your town houses, country seats, statues and paintings, than for
 “ the safety of the state. If you are inclined to preserve those things,
 “ of whatever nature they are, which you so passionately esteem;
 “ if you would continue in the indulgence of your pleasures, awake
 “ now from your lethargy, and arm in defence of the state. It is not
 “ our revenue, the tributes, or injuries received from our allies, which
 “ now engages our attention; it is our liberty and lives, which, at
 “ this critical juncture, are very much endangered. Oft, noble senators,
 “ oft have I weighed against the extravagant and avaritious
 “ practices of our citizens, and thereby have incurred the displeasure
 “ of many. Yet how was it possible for me, who never encouraged
 “ any depraved inclination, to be an eye-witness of the misbehaviour
 “ of others, and not censure it. But tho’ those speeches were disregarded,
 “ the republic was safe. Our flourishing situation permitted
 “ us to be a little remiss in our administration. But we don’t at present
 “ debate whether you encourage laudable or dishonourable
 “ practices, how extensive our empire is; we are considering whether
 “ we shall continue masters of those things we now possess, of
 “ whatever nature they are, or whether they, with us, will fall in-
 “ to the hands of the enemy.

55. “ AND shall any person, in such a situation, name clemency
 “ and compassion? Long since have we banished the true names of
 “ things; for the disposal of other mens effects in largesses, is termed
 “ generosity; and hazarding ourselves in villainous designs is called
 “ resolution; whereby the state has been reduced to a very languish-
 “ ing situation. Let these persons, since it is now practised, be liberal
 “ out of the fortunes of the allies; let them pity the misfortunes of
 “ those, who have embezzled the public money; but let them not
 “ compliment them with our lives; and for the sake of pardoning a
 “ few hardened villains, destroy all honourable persons. C. Cæsar has
 “ elegantly and nobly expatiated on life and death, before this house, as
 “ looking, I suppose, upon the opinion of the world, in respect to hell,
 “ where the wicked are separated from the just, imprisoned in ter-
 “ rible,

“ net, cavere ab illis magis, quàm, quid in illos statuamus, consultare.
 “ Nam cætera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt : hoc, nisi
 “ provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. Captâ
 “ urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per Deos immortalis, vos ego ap-
 “ pello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quàm
 “ rempubl. fecistis : si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini,
 “ retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis, expergiscimini
 “ aliquando, & capeffite remp. Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de
 “ fociorum injuriis : libertas, & anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpe-
 “ numero, P. C. multa verba in hōc ordine feci : sæpe de luxuriâ,
 “ atque avaritiâ nostrorum civium questus sum : multosque mortalis
 “ eâ causâ adversos habeo : qui mihi, atque animo meo nullius um-
 “ quam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facilè alterius lubidini malè
 “ facta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis ; tamen
 “ resp. firma erat : opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc verò non
 “ id agitur, bonisne, an malis moribus vivamus ; neque, quantum,
 “ aut quàm magnificum imperium populi R. fit ; sed, hæc cujuscum-
 “ que modi videntur, postea, an, nobiscum unâ, hostium futura sint.

55. “ Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem, & misericordiam no-
 “ minat ? Jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus :
 “ quia, bona aliena largiri, liberalitas ; malarum rerum audacia, for-
 “ titudo vocatur ; eo resp. in extremo sita est. Sint sanè, quoniam
 “ ità se mores habent, liberales ex fociorum fortunis : sint misericor-
 “ des in furibus ærarii : ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, &, dum
 “ paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene, &
 “ compositè C. Cæsar paulò antè in hōc ordine de vitâ, & morte dis-
 “ seruit, credo, falsa existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur, di-

“ verso

“ rible, dirty, lonesome filthy places, to be entirely groundless; and
 “ therefore thought it advisable to confiscate their effects, and to con-
 “ fine them closely in a borough town, apprehending, if their persons
 “ were at Rome, that they would be delivered by their associates,
 “ or a company engaged for that end, as if the city was only infested
 “ with seditious persons, and not all Italy; and as if the projects of
 “ audacious persons would be sooner defeated, where the inhabitants
 “ are least capable of resisting them. His sentiments are then of no
 “ signification, if he is apprehensive of danger from them. But if
 “ he alone remains unaffected with fear, you and I ought more to
 “ be afraid.

56. “ WHEREFORE, when you resolve on the measures to be ta-
 “ ken against Lentulus and the other conspirators, be assured, that it
 “ will determine the fate of Catiline’s army, and the rest of his associ-
 “ ates. The more intrepidly you pursue this affair, the more you dis-
 “ pirit and daunt the minds of the others; but if you seem in the least
 “ backward or discouraged, they will all attack us with greater in-
 “ trepidity. Don’t suppose that our ancestors so enlarged their empire
 “ by their armies only. Had it been so, we should have been in a
 “ more flourishing and happy situation than they: for we have a
 “ greater number of citizens and allies, arms and horses. But there
 “ were other things which aggrandized their empire: the very things
 “ of which we are quite destitute, namely, industry at home, Ex-
 “ act administration abroad, minds impartial in consultations, not in
 “ the least influenced by guilt or passion. Instead of which qualifi-
 “ cations, we are poisoned with luxury and avarice, our exchequer
 “ is drained, and our money engrossed by private persons. We doat
 “ on riches, and indulge indolence; we treat honourable and disho-
 “ nourable people with an equal respect; and ambition unjustly de-
 “ tains the rewards which virtue merits. Nor is it the object of my ad-
 “ miration, since you consult privately every one for himself, and gra-
 “ tify your appetites at home, either in lavishing away your money,
 “ or strengthening your interest. Hence it is, that the republic is
 “ attacked when destitute of defence. But I omit speaking of this.
 “ Citizens of the greatest dignity in the state have engaged in a design
 “ to ruin it. They are soliciting the Gauls, a people ever disagreeable
 “ to the Roman name, to make war upon us. The general of the
 “ army

“ verso itinere malos à bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda, atque formido-
 “ losa habere. Itaque censuit, pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos
 “ per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet, ne, si Romæ sint,
 “ aut à popularibus conjurationis, aut à multitudine conductâ, per
 “ vim eripiantur. Quasi verò mali, atque scelesti tantummodo in
 “ urbe, & non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit auda-
 “ cia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equi-
 “ dem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit. Sin in tanto
 “ omnium metu solus non timet; eò magis refert, me mihi, atque
 “ vobis timere.

56. “ QUARE cùm de P. Lentulo, cæterisque statuatis; pro certo
 “ habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ & de omnibus conjuratis de-
 “ cernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior
 “ erit: si paululum modò vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces
 “ aderunt. Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis remp. ex parvâ
 “ magnam fecisse. Si ità res esset; multo pulcherrumam eam nos
 “ haberemus: quippe fociorum, atque civium, præterea armorum,
 “ atque equorum major copia nobis, quàm illis, est. Sed alia fuere,
 “ quæ illos magnos fecere; quæ nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, fo-
 “ ris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto,
 “ neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque
 “ avaritiam; publicè egestatem, privatim opulentiam: laudamus di-
 “ vitias, sequimur inertiam: inter bonos & malos discrimen nullum:
 “ omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum: ubi vos
 “ separatim, sibi quisque; consilium capitis; ubi domi voluptatibus,
 “ hinc pecuniæ, aut gratiæ servitis: eò fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam
 “ remp. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere cives nobilissimi patriam
 “ incendere; Gallorum gentem, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad
 L “ bellum

" army is even at our walls ; and do you yet delay and hesitate
 " on the resolution you should take against the persons whom
 " you have apprehended within the walls ? Perhaps you should
 " have compassion on them. They are young, and have been in-
 " duced to engage in such a design, merely through a generous emu-
 " lation, and by all means discharge them armed. But be assured
 " that pity and mildness, if they shall procure arms for themselves,
 " will bring you into a miserable situation. The juncture indeed is
 " calamitous ; but you are, I suppose, quite unaffected with any ap-
 " prehensions. No : but through a weakness of soul, demur, re-
 " garding each other's measures, relying perhaps on the immortal
 " powers, who have oft preserved this state, when in a tide of
 " the greatest misfortunes. Think not your silly effeminate vows
 " and supplications will procure you the assistance of heaven. All
 " measures are successfully effected, by watching, action, and pru-
 " dence. But if you surrender yourself to remissness and indolence,
 " in vain do you implore the assistance of heaven ; they are incensed
 " against you and displeased. In the earlier ages of the world, Au-
 " lus Manlius Torquatus ordered his son to be slain, for engaging the
 " army in opposition to commands. Thus was this intrepid young
 " man punished for his untimed courage. Do you then, thro' a doubt,
 " decline determining against such inveterate paricides ? Perhaps
 " the purity with which they conducted their lives before this
 " accident, prevents your resolving. Yes, respect the dignity of Len-
 " tulus, if ever he regarded chastity, and his reputation, Gods, or
 " men. Forgive the youth of Cethegus, unless this be the second
 " attempt he has made to ruin the state. Why should I say any
 " thing of Gabinius, Cæparius, and Statilius, who would never have
 " encouraged a design prejudicial against the republic, had they re-
 " flected seriously with themselves. In fine, noble senators, if the
 " affair would admit of being looked upon as misconduct, I could
 " easily permit you, who not in the least regard words, to be directed
 " by the event. But we are surrounded on all sides. Catiline is un-
 " der the walls with an army. Other enemies are within the wall,
 " and in the bosom of the city. Nothing can be resolved upon, nor
 " any preparations made secretly ; expedition therefore is now re-
 " quisite. Upon considering these circumstances, I vote, since the
 " republic has been menaced with the greatest danger, to which the
 " pernicious projects of scandalous citizens have given birth ; and those
 " are

“ bellum arcessunt : dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est. Vos
 “ cunctamini etiam nunc, & dubitatis, quid intrà mœnia deprehensis
 “ hostibus faciatis ? Misereamini, censeo ; Deliquere homines adoles-
 “ centuli per ambitionem : atque etiam armatos dimittatis : nœ ista
 “ vobis mansuetudo, & misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in mise-
 “ riam vertet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam.
 “ Immo verò maxumè ; sed inertia & mollitiâ animi, alius alium ex-
 “ spectantes cunctamini, videlicet Diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc
 “ remp. in maxumis sæpe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque sup-
 “ pliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur ; vigilando, agendo,
 “ bene consulendo, prospere omnia cedunt : ubi fœcundiæ tete, atque
 “ ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam Deos implores : irati, infestique
 “ sunt. Apud majores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico
 “ filium suum, quòd is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari
 “ iussit : atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte
 “ poenas dedit. Vos, de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cun-
 “ ctamini ? videlicet vita cætera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verùm
 “ parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudiciæ, si famæ suæ, si Diis, aut
 “ hominibus umquam ullis pepercit. Ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiæ,
 “ nisi iterum jam patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio,
 “ Statilio, Cepario loquar ? quibus si quidquam pensi umquam fuisset,
 “ non ea consilia de rep. habuissent. Postremò, P. C. si mehercle
 “ peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsâ re corrigi, quoniam verba
 “ contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi sumus : Catilina cum ex-
 “ ercitu faucibus urget : alii intrà mœnia, atque in sinu urbis sunt
 “ hostes. Neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occultè potest :
 “ quò magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo. Cùm nefario
 “ consilio sceleratorum civium resp. in maxuma pericula venerit, hi-

“ are convicted upon the deposition of T. Volturcius, and the ambassa-
 “ dors of the Allobroges, and have owned being engaged in a plot
 “ to assassinate the citizens, to seize the city, and to perpetrate other
 “ vile and inhuman actions against the state ; that we should, con-
 “ formable to the customs of our ancestors, punish them who have
 “ confessed their being conscious of such a design, as if they had com-
 “ pleted it.”

57. AFTER Cato sat down, all the consular gentlemen, and a majority of the house, approved of his advice, and very much applauded his constancy of mind, looking upon one another as cowards, and respecting Cato as a worthy great counsellor. A decree is passed in the senate, as Cato had advised. As I have been informed, by some persons, and also authors, of the many enterprizes effected by the Roman people, by sea and land ; I was extremely desirous of enquiring into the principal cause of their success. I was sensible, that with an inconsiderable force they had engaged great armies of enemies ; that wars were carried on by them with a small body of troops, against opulent kings ; and moreover, that they had been subject to the greatest caprice of fortune ; that the Greeks were far superior to them in point of eloquence, the Gauls better versed in the art of war. Upon an attentive reflection, I perceived that the wonderful resolution and uncommon conduct of a few eminent citizens, had influenced every thing, and had rendered poverty superior to riches, and an inferior force to a multitude. Nay, afterwards, when the magistrates were corrupted with luxury and indolence, even then did the ancient spirit of the state support it against the corrupt passions of its officers and commanders ; yet as a decayed parent, Rome could not boast, during a great interval of time, a man eminent for uncommon merit. But in my time, it has produced two persons of an extraordinary character, tho' directly varying in their disposition, M. Cato, and C. Cæsar, whom, as an opportunity presented, it would have been improper to have passed by without hinting on their character. They were both of noble parentage, of the same standing in life, and had a flow of eloquence ; they had the same innate greatness of soul, and an equal possession of glory, but of a different nature. Cæsar was respected for his unbounded liberality, Cato for his purity of life. The former was remarkable for his clemency, and a spirit of compassion ; the latter for his severity : Cæsar established his character by giving largesses, pardoning and mitigating ; Cato by refusing to bribe : In the one, the calamitous
 found

“ que indicio T. Volturcii & legatorum Allobrogum convicti, con-
 “ fessique sint, cædem, incendia, aliâque fœda atque crudelia faci-
 “ nora in civis, patriâque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de mani-
 “ festis rerum capitalium, more majorum supplicium sumendum.”

57. POSTQUAM Cato affedit; consulares omnes, itémque senatûs magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cælum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant: Cato clarus atque magnus habetur: senati decretum fit, sicut ille censuerat. Sed mihi, multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Rom. domi, militiæque, mari, atque terrâ præclara facinora fecit, fortè lubuit attendere, quæ res maxumè tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpenumero parvâ manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus: ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam tolerasse: facundiâ Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitati constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, ut divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed, postquam luxu, atque desidiâ civitas corrupta est, rursus resp. magnitudine suâ imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac veluti effœtâ parente, multis tempestatibus haud sanè quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoriâ meâ, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, & C. Cæsar: quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam, & mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia propè æqualia fuere: magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habetur; integritate vitæ Cato: ille mansuetudine, & misericordiâ clarus factus; huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar, dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato, nihil lar-

giundo,

found an asylum ; in the other, the wicked inevitable ruin. The volubility of the one, the firm constancy of the other, was applauded. In fine, Cæsar was industrious and cautious, intent upon benefiting his friends, disregarding his own concerns ; refused nothing to any one which merited their acceptance ; was extremely desirous of having the government of the state in his hands, the command of an army, a new war to be kindled, wherein to exert his eminent qualifications. But Cato was fond of moderation, decency and severity : he did not endeavour to rival the rich in wealth nor in parties the seditious ; but his aim was to outdo the intrepid in intrepidity, the modest in modesty, and the innocent in exactness. To appear good was not his desire, he had rather be so ; and therefore, the less he endeavoured to promote his character, the more glory attended him.

58. AFTER the senate, as I have observed, had approved of, and determined to follow the advice of Cato, the consul looking upon it as most effectual to execute the orders of the senate before night, which now approached, and to prevent any plot in their favour, to which delay might give birth, commands the triumvirs to prepare what was necessary for the execution, he himself having posted guards, conducts Lentulus to prison, whilst the pretors conduct the rest. There is a place in the prison, called Tullianum, which is upon a small ascent on the left-hand, sunk about twelve feet within the ground ; it is surrounded with strong walls, and an arch of stone above, but uncomfortable, dark, nauseous, and of terrible aspect. After Lentulus was let down into this place, those persons who were commissioned to perform the execution, strangled him. Thus did this patrician of the noble family of the Cornelii, who had been invested with the consular dignity, end his life, in a manner suitable to his depraved morals, and his vile actions. The same punishment was inflicted on Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius.

59. DURING these transactions at Rome, Catiline formed two legions of those forces whom he and Manlius brought ; augmented every regiment, as was consistent with the number of his forces ; and then, when any volunteers, or any of his allies joined him, he equally distributed them amongst the battalions, till at last he intirely compleated his

giundo, gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis perniciēs: illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremò, Cæsar in animum induxerat, laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua negligere: nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxumè severitatis, erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso: sed cum strenuo, virtute; cum modesto pudore; cum innocente, abstinentiâ certabat: esse, quàm videri, bonus malebat: ita, quò minùs gloriam petebat, eò magis illum adsequebatur.

58. POSTQUAM, uti dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antè capere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur; triumviros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, præfidiis dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit cæteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululùm ascenderis ad lævam, circiter XII. pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda, atque terribilis ejus facies. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam frangere. Ita ille patricius, ex gente clarissimâ Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

59. DUM ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copiâ, quam ipse adduxerat, & Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit; cohortes pro numero militum complet: dein, uti quisque voluntarius, aut ex focis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero

his legions, tho' at first he had no more than two thousand soldiers in his army. A fourth part of those troops were compleatly armed, the rest as they were armed by mere chance, were furnished with crooks or lances, and others with burnt stakes. But at the approach of Antony's army, Catiline withdrew his forces into the mountains, sometimes advancing towards Rome, at other times towards Gaul; and declined fighting with the enemy. He was in great hopes that his forces would be soon augmented, if his associates at Rome had effected their designs. In the mean time, he rejected the slaves, who came at first in great bodies, relying on the associates he had gained; thinking that it seemed to contradict his motives, to join the cause of citizens, with that of fugitive slaves. But when a messenger arrived at the camp, who informed him of the discovery of the conspiracy, and of the punishment inflicted on Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, whom I have before mentioned, most of his men, whom the hopes of rapine, or a fondness for a revolution, had induced to engage in the war, quit his service; the remainder were conducted by Catiline, by long marches, through almost impassible rocks, into the Pistorian land, with an intent to go secretly through narrow defiles into Gallia Transalpina. But Q. Metellus Celer, who commanded three Legions in Gaul, supposed, from the extremities to which Catiline was reduced, that he intended to execute the abovementioned design. Wherefore, when he was informed by some deserters of his march, he decamped immediately, and again encamped at the feet of those mountains, which Catiline, in his way to Gaul, must necessarily pass; nor was Antony far distant, who pursued him with a great body of troops, incumbered with little baggage, along the plains. But when Catiline perceived that he was inclosed by the enemy, and the mountains, that his projects had miscarried in the city, that there was no hopes of escaping, or defending themselves within intrenchments, looking upon it as now most advisable to hazard an engagement, he came to a resolution to give battle to Antony as soon as an opportunity presented. Wherefore, having assembled his troops, he spoke to this effect:

mero hominum expleverat : cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copiâ circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa : cæteri, uti quemque casus armaverat, sparos, aut lanceas, alii præacutas fudes portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere : modò ad urbem modò in Galliam versùs castra movere ; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. Sperabat propediem magnas copias se habiturum, si Romæ focii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus ; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans, videri causam civium in servis fugitivis communicâsse. Sed, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam ; de Lentulo, & Cethego, cæterisque, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumtum ; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur : reliquos Catilina per montis asperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occultè profugeret in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra properè movit ; ac sub ipsis radicibus montium confedit, quâ illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius longè aberat, utpote qui, magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditos in fugam sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam vidit, montibus, atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ, neque præsidii ullam spem : optimum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quàm primùm configere. Itaque concione advocatâ hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

M

“ Compertum

60. " I AM fully persuaded, soldiers, that words cannot animate
 " men, nor can a general render a coward an intrepid soldier, nor
 " an intimidated army, a resolute one, by his addresses. As much
 " resolution as either nature or custom has implanted in him, so
 " much will he evidence in a battle. The attempt is vain to ani-
 " mate him, whom neither a motive of glory can fire, or whom
 " dangers can't inspire with courage; his apprehensions avert his
 " attention. I assembled you to give you a few instructions,
 " and to inform you of my reasons for entering upon those measures.
 " You are highly sensible, gentlemen, how detrimental the inactivity
 " and indolence of Lentulus has been, both to himself and us; and
 " how in continuing here for supplies from Rome, my march into
 " Gaul has been obstructed. Now, I am very well assured, you
 " are as well acquainted with our present circumstances as myself.

61. " We are opposed by two armies, the one from Gaul, the
 " other from Rome; and if we were never so desirous of continuing
 " any longer in this situation, we could not, by reason of our want
 " of provision, and other necessaries. Wheresoever we intend to go,
 " we must open ourselves a path with our arms. Wherefore, shew
 " a spirit of resolution and bravery, and when you commence the
 " fight, reflect with yourselves, that it is wealth, honour, empire,
 " nay liberty and your country, which you carry in your right hands.
 " If we gain the victory, we shall be in the utmost security; we
 " shall then be destitute of no provisions, since the boroughs and co-
 " lonies will supply us. But if we retreat, affected with fear, we
 " shall be reduced to a very miserable condition; neither will any
 " place or friend be capable of protecting the man whom his arms
 " in vain defended. Moreover, soldiers, our cause is quite different
 " from theirs; we engage for our country, liberty and lives; but
 " they to enhance the power of a few ambitious citizens, which is
 " intirely unnecessary; therefore engage with more resolution, flushed
 " with your former intrepidity. We might have been branded with
 " perpetual infamy in banishment; some might have dwelt in the
 " city after their estates had been confiscated, and in a situation in-
 " tirely supported by the largesses of others, yet because those seem'd
 " insupportable and dishonourable to resolute men, you have en-
 " gaged in this attempt. And intrepidity is the only means to
 " extricate yourself from those difficulties, if you desire it. None,
 " unless

60. “ Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba viris virtutem non
 “ addere ; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exer-
 “ citum, oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia
 “ naturâ, aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem ne-
 “ que gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequicquam hortere : timor
 “ animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quò pauca monerem, advocavi :
 “ simul uti causam consilii mei aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites,
 “ socordia, atque ignavia Lentuli, quantam ipsi nobisque cladem ad-
 “ tulerit ; quòque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam
 “ proficisci nequiverim. Nunc verò, quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxtà
 “ mecum omnes intelligitis.

61. “ Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter à Galliâ obstant :
 “ diutius in his locis esse, si maxumè animus ferat, frumenti atque
 “ aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocunque ire placet, ferro iter
 “ aperiendum est. Qua propter vos moneo, uti forti, atque parato
 “ animo sitis ; & , cùm prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias,
 “ decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem, atque patriam in dextris ve-
 “ stris portare. Si vincimus ; omnia nobis tuta erunt : commeatus
 “ abundè : municipia, atque coloniae patebunt. Sin metu cesserimus,
 “ eadem illa adversa fient ; neque locus, neque amicus quisquam te-
 “ get, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem no-
 “ bis, & illis necessitudo impendet. Nos pro patriâ, pro libertate,
 “ pro vitâ certamus : illis supervacaneum est pro potentiâ paucorum
 “ pugnare. Quò audaciùs aggredimini, memores pristinae virtutis.
 “ Licuit nobis cum summâ turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere : po-
 “ tuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes expectare.
 “ Quia illa fœda, atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decre-
 “ vistis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audaciâ opus est. Nemo, nisi

“ unless victors, change war for peace. For to entertain hopes of be-
 “ ing secured by flight, when those very arms which would protect
 “ him, are turned from the enemy, is a wild thought. Oft are the
 “ most intimidated in the greatest danger : intrepidity is an intrench-
 “ ment. When I consider you, gentlemen, and reflect on your past
 “ conduct, I am impregnated with great hopes of defeating the enemy.
 “ Your courage, age and resolution animate me ; and also, how you
 “ are necessitated, which renders those before affected with fear, the
 “ most intrepid. For the straitness of the place wherein we shall en-
 “ gage, won’t admit of the enemy’s surrounding us with their num-
 “ bers. But if your resolution is looked upon by fortune as the ob-
 “ ject of envy, and you are necessitated to die, die brave. Lose not
 “ your lives unrevenged, nor permit yourselves to be seized and
 “ butchered as beasts ; but engage like men, and let the enemy pur-
 “ chase the victory with blood and grief.”

62. Soon after he had finished his address, he orders the signal to be
 given for engaging, and draws down his men into an advantageous place ;
 having dismissed all their horses, that they being equally endanger’d,
 might be inspired with more courage. He being on foot, disposes of
 his men in such a manner as was requisite for the place, and confi-
 dent with the number of his forces : for as the plain had on the left
 mountains, and on the right an inaccessible rock, he placed eight bat-
 talions in the front of his army, and disposed of the other troops in the
 rear, as it seemed most to his advantage, for a Corps du reserve. Out
 of this body he selected all the old and best centurions, and even the
 common soldiers, who were well armed, and placed them in the
 vanguard. He commissions C. Manlius to command the right wing,
 and one of Fæfulæ the left ; whilst he, with the freemen, and those of
 the colonies, posted himself near the eagle, which C. Marius is said
 to have fixed therein in the Cimbrian war. But on the other side,
 Antony, who being weak in his feet, could not be present at the en-
 gagement, assigned the command of the army to his lieutenant ge-
 neral, M. Petreius. He placed all the veteran battalions, which he
 had levied in this tumult, in the front, and the rest of his troops in the
 rear, as a Corps du reserve ; and riding about, calling every one by his
 name, animates, invigorates, and desires them to remember, that they
 were to engage defenceless robbers, for the defence of their country,
 children, and religion. This gentleman being brought up in the ser-
 vice

“ victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam, in fugâ salutem sperare, cum
 “ arma, quâ corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avertere : ea verò dementia
 “ est. Semper in prælio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxumè
 “ timent : audacia pro muro habetur. Cùm vos confidero, milites ;
 “ & cùm facta vestra æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Ani-
 “ mus, ætas, virtus vestra me hortantur ; præterea necessitudo, quæ
 “ etiam timidos fortis facit : nam, multitudo hostium ne circumve-
 “ nire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quòd si virtuti vestræ fortuna
 “ inviderit, cavete, ne inulti animam amittatis, neve capti potius, si-
 “ cuti pecora trucidemini, quàm virorum more pugnantes, cruentam
 “ atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.”

62. Hæc ubi dixit ; paululùm commoratus, signa canere jubet :
 atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit : dein, remotis om-
 nium equis, quò militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset,
 ipse pedes exercitum pro loco, atque copiis instruit. Nam uti pla-
 nities erat inter sinistros montes & ab dextrâ rupes aspera ; octo co-
 hortis in fronte constituit ; reliqua signa in subsidiis artiùs collocat.
 Ab his centuriones omnis lectos & evocatos ; præterea ex gregariis mi-
 litibus optumè quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit ; C.
 Manlium in dextrâ, Fæfulanum quemdam in sinistrâ parte curare ju-
 bet : ipse cum libertis, & colonis propter Aquilam adsistit ; quam
 bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex al-
 terâ parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quòd prælio adesse nequibat,
 M. Petrei legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas
 tumulti causâ conscripserat, in fronte, post eas cæterum exercitum in
 subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, ap-
 pellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermes, pro
 patriâ, pro liberis, pro aris, atque focus suis cernere. Homo mili-
 tarius ;

vice of the state, had been above thirty years in the army, in the offices of tribune, master of horse, lieutenant general and prætor, and was very well acquainted with most of the men, and the actions by which they had distinguished themselves, by commemorating which, he inspired them with new vigour.

63. AFTER Petreius had inspected the disposition of his arms, he giving the signal to charge the enemy, orders the battalions to advance slowly. The other army moved in the same manner : After they had advanced so near that the light-armed troops might engage them, they charged one another with loud shouts, lay aside their lances, and make their attack sword in hand. The veteran troops, flushed with their former resolution, engage vigorously in the close fight ; meeting with a no less resolute opposition from the enemy, which occasioned an obstinate engagement. During this attack, Catiline wheel'd about to the vanguard with his bravest men, to relieve his troops which were disordered, reinforced them with fresh men to supply the place of the wounded, provided for every thing necessary in such a disposition ; oft attack'd the enemy in person, acting at the same time the part of a resolute soldier, and an experienced general. When Petreius perceived that Catiline opposed him, contrary to his expectation, with great resolution, he brings up the general's own battalion against the main body of the enemies, and destroys them disordered, and sometimes returning to their charge : Having broke this body, he attacks each wing, where Manlius and the Fæfulan fell, engaging in the front. Catiline being now sensible of the defeat of his troops, and how few men were left, considering his original, and his former dignity, hurried amidst the greatest throng of the enemies, and there fighting was slain.

64. AT the conclusion of the battle, you might have seen sufficient instances of the resolution and intrepidity of Catiline's forces. The very place in which, when alive, they were posted, was covered with their dead bodies. Few of the main body, whom the general's own battalions had broke, fell scattered in places, tho' all wounded in opposing the enemy. As for Catiline, he was found far distant from his men, amidst heaps of enemies, just expiring, retaining the same haughtiness in his countenance which he had when alive. In fine, out of that Body, not one person above the character of a slave, was made prisoner, either in the battle or flight, regarding their

taris, quòd ampliùs annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor, cum magnâ gloriâ in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos, factâque eorum fortia noverat : ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

63. SED, ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tubâ signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet. Idem fecit hostium exercitus. Postquam eò ventum est, unde à ferentariis prælium committi posset ; maximo clamore, infestis signis concurrunt ; pila omittunt ; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinæ virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare ; illi haud timidi resistunt : maxumâ vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in primâ acie versari : laborantibus succurrere ; integros pro faucibus accersere : omnia providere : multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire : strenui militis, & boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contrâ ac ratus erat, magnâ vi tendere ; cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit ; eosque perturbatos, atque alios alibi resistentis, interficit : deinde utrimque ex lateribus cæteros aggreditur. Manlius, & Fæfulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, sèque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina ; memor generis, atque pristinæ dignitatis suæ, in confertissimos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

64. Sed, confecto prælio, tum verò cerneret quanta audacia, quantâque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam ferè, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amisâ animâ, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors prætoria disjecerat, paulò diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus, conciderant. Catilina verò longè à suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans ; ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremò, ex omni copiâ, neque in prælio, neque in fugâ quisquam civis ingenuus captus est.

own lives no more than those of the enemy. Neither would the victory admit of the army's rejoicing, since it was purchased at a dear rate. For every resolute person either perished in the engagement, or was dangerously wounded : Many of those who came from the camp upon account of visiting the field of battle, or of plundering it, in turning over the dead, found a friend, some an acquaintance, some relations, others their enemies ; so that the army conceived pleasure, was distressed with sorrow, nurtur'd mirth, and was affected with heaviness.

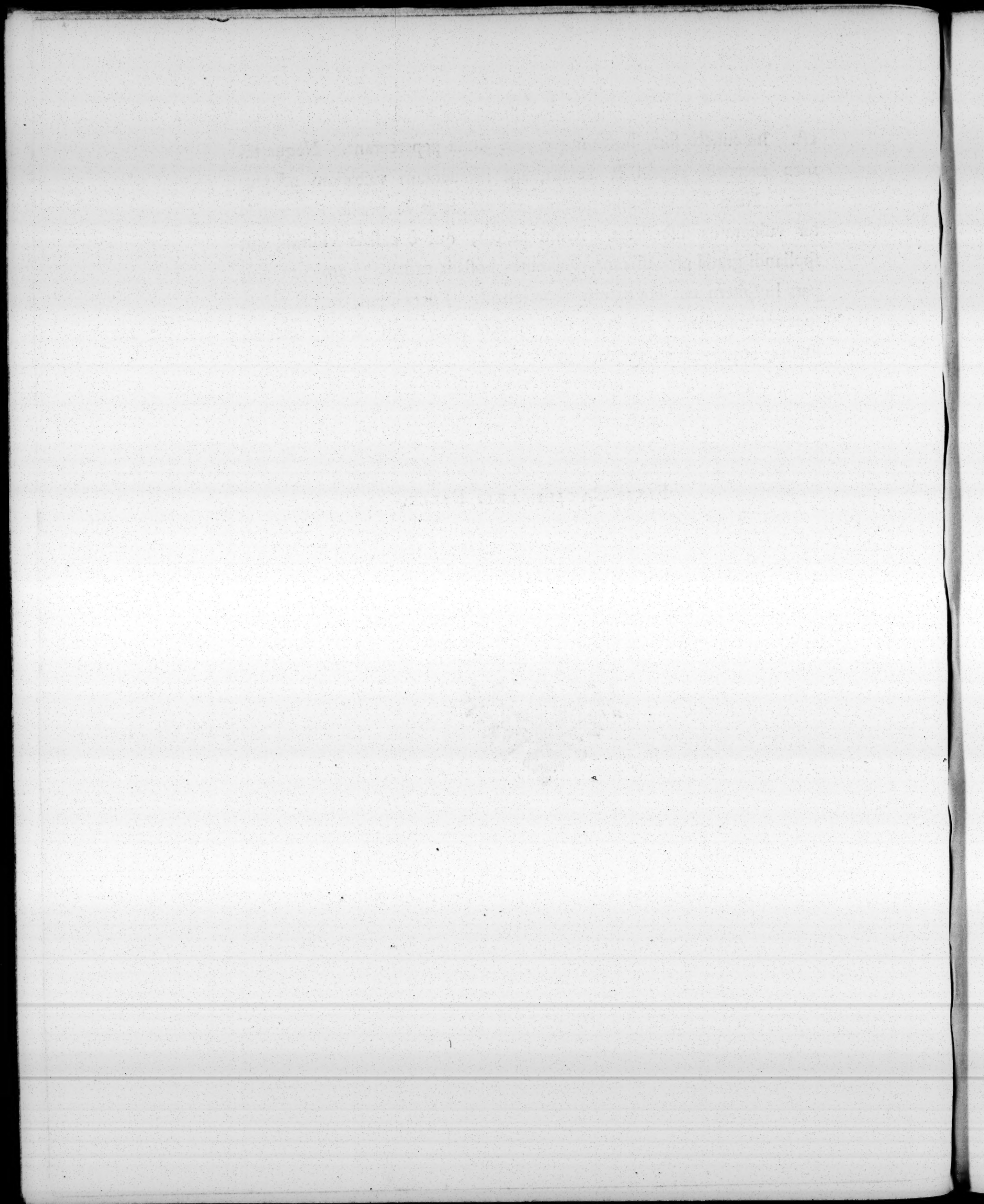
The END of the CATILINARIAN War.

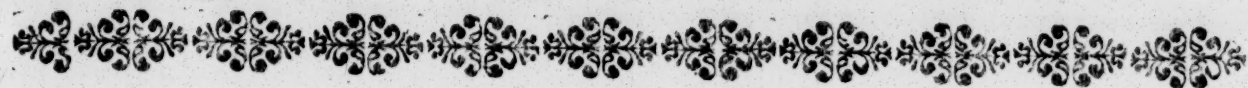


est. Ita cuncti suæ, hostiûmque vitæ juxtâ pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi R. lætam, aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. Nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui è castris visundi, aut spoliandi gratiâ processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiabant. Fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita variè per omnem exercitum lætitia, mæror, luctus, atque gaudia agitabantur.

FINIS CATILINARII BELLI.







C. C. SALLUST's
HISTORY
OF THE
JUGURTHINE WAR.



C. C. SALLUST's
HISTORY
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JUGURTHINE WAR.

1. **T**HE accusation lodged against nature by mankind, as being weak, of short continuance, and rather subject to the guidance of fortune than of virtue, is intirely groundless. For upon reflecting on her in a contrary light, nothing can be discovered superior to her, or more pompous; and you will find that mankind are destitute of application, more than a capacity or time. But the soul is the helm of this life; which, when it endeavours to attain glory, by the practice of virtue, is to excess vigorous and honourable; neither is the aid of fortune requisite to support it, since incapable of detracting from the probity of any man, or divesting him of application, or any other excellencies. Yet if the soul, allured by depraved inclinations, indulges indolence and sensual pleasures, and by that means detriments itself, and destroys its time, then he censures nature as infirm; as a man, conscious of any misconduct, is inclined to transfer the fault to the circumstances of the affairs which employ him. But, if men entertained as great a regard for those things intrinsically good, as for those of a different character, and not in the least beneficial to them, but, on the contrary, dangerous, he would neither be so much directed by chance, but would regulate her; and attain to such a height of glory, that instead of partaking of the incidents of this life, he would perpetuate his memory in the annals of time.

2. FOR

C. C. S A L L U S T I I
B E L L U M
J U G U R T H I N U M.

I. **F**ALSO queritur de naturâ suâ genus humanum, quòd imbecille, atque ævi brevis, sorte potiùs, quàm virtute, regatur. Nam contra reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenias; magisque naturæ industriam hominum, quàm vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux, atque imperator vitæ mortalium, animus est: qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis viâ grassatur, abundè pollens poténsque, & clarus est, neque fortunâ eget; quippe quæ probitatem, industriam, aliásque artis bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam, & voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciosâ lubricine paulisper usus: ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur: suam quippe culpam actores ad negotia transferunt. Quòd si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena, ac nihil profutura, multùm etiam periculosa petunt: neque regerentur magis, quàm regerent casus; & eò magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus, gloriâ æterni fierent.

2. NAM

2. For, as the human system consists of two parts, the body and the soul; so all our actions and inclinations are consonant with the one, or the other. Thus do our beauty, wealth, and strength, and all other things of the same nature, like the body, soon decay; but the grand productions of the soul, as herself, for ever live. In fine, as the graces of the body, and the gifts of chance, have a beginning, so do they terminate; and the things which exist, soon vanish, and those which are in their bloom, soon fade. But the soul unchangeable, the helm of man, acts and keeps all under its direction; in vain controll'd by any pow'r. How much more then is their weakness become the object of our admiration, who indulge their darling appetites, whose sole pursuit is luxury and indolence; and who permit the soul, of a nature far superior to that of the other things which exist in this world, to languish and sicken, for want of proper cultivation? Tho' there are so many employments, by pursuing which, man may attain immortal honour.

3. BUT, of all those pursuits, posts civil and military, in fine, all shares in the publick administration, now appear to me least meriting an acquisition, because merit does not here gain its just reward; nor are those, who by underhand fraudulent methods procure a place in the state, more safe or honourable. For to govern your country or parents, in an oppressive manner, tho' you are permitted to act so, by the authority with which you are invested; and tho' you may regulate their misconduct, is really unreasonable, especially since all innovations are accompanied with murders, banishments, and other fatal consequences. But to attempt in vain, and by fatiguing himself to gain nothing, and, on the contrary, to incur a general displeasure, is a wild thought, which none would ever do; unless, indeed, those who, to gratify the power of a few, through a dishonourable and destructive inclination, abandon their credit and liberty.

4. BUT of all the other pursuits which engage the abilities of the mind, that of writing history is of uncommon service: yet as this subject has been so oft treated on, I shall decline saying any thing concerning it, lest I should be judged a vain person, if I conferred encomiums on my own pursuit. And as I have determined to accept of no office in the state, doubtless some persons may censure me,
who

2. NAM uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore, & animâ est : ita res cunctæ, studiâque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animæ naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc, vis corporis, & alia omnia hujuscemodi brevî dilabuntur ; ac ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremò, corporis & fortunæ bonorum, uti initium, sic finis est ; omniâque orta occidunt, & aucta senescunt. Animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit, atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quô magis pravitatis eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt : cæterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in naturâ mortalium est, incultu atque socordiâ torpescere sinunt ; cùm præsertim tam multæ, variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3. VERUM ex his magistratus, & imperia, postremò omnis cura rerum publicarum, minumè mihi hâc tempestate cupiunda videntur : quoniam neque virtuti honos datur : neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eò magis honesti sunt. Nam, vi quidem regere patriam, aut parentes, quamquam & possis, & delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est : cùm præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, alia hostilia portendant. Frustra autem niti, neque aliud, se fatigando, nisi odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ est : nisi fortè quem inhonesta & perniciofa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

4. CÆTERUM ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno ufui est memoria rerum gestarum : cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto ; simul, ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul à republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque
utili

who have fixed upon this serviceable retired life, as a slave to indolence; those, I mean, who give the appellation of singular industry to treating and insinuating one's self into the favour of the mob. But if they would reflect, and think in what times I was honoured with an office in the state, when many, tho' of an eminent character, could not attain the same, and what men were since admitted into the senate, then they will think, that I justly, and not through an indolent humour, declined my first resolution; and that my retirement from public concerns, will be more beneficial to the republic, than others being employed therein. For I have oft heard Q. Maximus, P. Scipio, and several other considerable persons say, that when they looked at the images of their ancestors, their souls were flushed with a vehement desire of emulating their glory. Now it was not the wax, nor the form, which was capable of affecting their souls; but it was the consideration of their heroic achievements, which kindled that flame in the breasts of those excellent men, and would not permit them to rest, till they had acquired the same credit, the same immortal glory, by their actions, as their ancestors. But where is the man in this age, who does not use his endeavours to surpass his ancestors in riches and luxury, and not in probity and industry? Nay, even upstarts, who before were wont to exceed the noblesse, with respect to character, by their virtue, now privately, and rather fraudently than honourably, endeavour the attainment of the greatest posts in the state; as if the prætorship, consulship, and other offices of that nature, were self-sufficient to confer glory and honour on the possessors, and not rendered honourable by their conduct. But I have said too much, and have plunged too deep into the concerns of the state, fired with a just displeasure at the present constitution of affairs. And now to return:

5. My design is to write the history of the war which was carried on, by Jugurtha king of the Numidians, against the Roman people; first, because it was considerable, maintained with great obstinacy, and in which the caprice of fortune was evident; secondly, because the first step was taken to quell the haughtiness of the noblesse: which animosity blended every thing divine and human, and was arrived to that height of fury, that a civil war, and the desolation of Italy, were the only things capable of quashing it. But before I enter upon this history, I must step back, that

utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant: certè, quibus maxuma industria videtur, salutare plebem, & convivii gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, & quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sim; & quales viri idem assequi nequiverint; & postea, quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profectò existimabunt, me magis merito, quàm ignaviâ, iudicium animi mei mutavisse; majusque commodum ex otio meo, quàm ex aliorum negotiis, reip. venturum. Nam sæpe audiivi, Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros, solitos ita dicere; cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi: scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contrà, quis est omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis, & sumtibus, non probitate, neque industriâ, cum majoribus suis contendat? Etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim; & per latrocinia potius, quàm bonis artibus, ad imperia & honores nituntur. Proinde quasi prætura, & consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara, & magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verùm ego liberiùs, altiùsque processì, dum me civitatis morum piget, tædétque. Nunc ad inceptum redeo.

5. BELLUM scripturus sum, quod populus R. cum Jugurthâ rege Numidarum gessit: primùm, quia magnum & atrox, variâque victoria fuit: dein, quia tum primùm superbiæ nobilitatis obviâ itum est. Quæ contentio divina & humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum, atque vastitas Italiæ finem facerent. Sed prius quàm hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca suprâ

that I may give you a complete idea of the whole. During the second Punic war, wherein Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, not satisfied with having impaired the Roman power, laid waste all Italy; Masinissa, king of the Numidians, being received amongst the number of their allies, by Scipio, in after times called Africanus, for his wonderful resolution, and for terminating that war, had behaved in our service with uncommon bravery: To retaliate which favours, after the conquest of the Carthaginians, and the taking of Syphax prisoner, who was sovereign of an extensive empire in Africa, the Romans gave up all the cities and territories taken by them to him. For which king Masinissa always persevered in his zeal for our interest, continuing in the possession of his empire till his death. After him, his only son Micipsa reigned, his brothers Mastanabal and Gulussa being dead. He had two sons, Atherbal and Hiempsal; and educated Jugurtha, the son of his brother Mastanabal (whom, as descended of a concubine, Masinissa had left as a private person) in his own palace, and with the same tenderness as his sons.

6. THIS Jugurtha, arriving at the years of maturity, being of great strength, of a graceful mien, and invested with a sublime genius, indulged not luxury nor indolence; but conforming to the practices of his country, rode, threw the javelin, and delighted himself with racing; and tho' the honours he gained, rendered him superior to them, yet they unanimously respected him. He also employed himself mostly in hunting; and was always the first, or amongst those who were the first, in engaging lions, or other savage beasts; compleated most designs, but was very moderate in praising himself. With which circumstances, tho' Micipsa was at first pleased, thinking his resolution would be an honour to his empire; yet, when he was sensible how much his character was daily enhanced, his life setting, and his children but young, he was affected with great concern and anxiety. The nature of mankind, which was fond of command, and willing to attain its ends by any criminal method whatever, created new apprehensions; but particularly, the opportunity which presented itself to his view, the shortness of his life, and the minority of his sons; which oft raises a spirit of ambition in a man, who would otherwise have no such views. Besides this, the love which the Numidians entertained for Jugurtha, made him apprehensive

repetam ; quò, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxumè attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus à P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa & præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. Ob quæ victis Carthaginiensibus, & capto Syphace, cujus in Africâ magnum, atque latè imperium valuit, populus R. quascumque urbis, & agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permanfit : sed imperii, vitæque ejus, finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Manastabale, & Gulufsâ fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Atherbalem, & Hiempsaalem et sese genuit : Jugurthamque filium Manastabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quòd ortus ex concubinâ erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

6. QUI ubi primùm adolevit, pollens viribus, decorâ facie, sed multò maxumè ingenio validus, non se luxu, neque inertiae corrum-
pendum dedit : Sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare : &, cùm omnis gloriâ anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse : ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere ; leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis ferire : plurimum facere, & minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore : tamen postquam hominem adolescentem, exactâ ætate suâ, & parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii, & præceptis ad explendam animi cupidinem ; præterea, oportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocri viros spe prædæ transvorsos agit ; ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham ac-

five of a sedition, or civil disturbances, if he should put him to death privately.

7. REFLECTING on those difficulties, when he saw it was in vain to think of injuring by public or private designs, a man so universally popular, he determined to expose Jugurtha to dangers, who was active, and desirous of military glory; and to try how fortune conducted herself there. Upon which Micipsa, who was to send a body of forces to the assistance of the Romans engaged in a war against Numantia, hoping that he, through a desire of signalizing himself, or by the cruelty of the enemies, would soon fall, appointed him commander in chief of those forces he sent into Spain. But the event of this affair was repugnant to his expectations. For as Jugurtha was of an active, daring disposition, when he was acquainted with the nature of Scipio, who was then general of the Romans, and was sensible of the conduct of the enemy; by great diligence and continued attention, by a modest subjection to all commands, and by oft encountering dangers, he gain'd, in a short time, such a character in the army, that he engaged our respect, and intimidated the enemy. And what is very rare, he was resolute in battle, and deliberate in council. The former of which, through too great audacity, is apt to degenerate into rashness, and the latter, through too much precaution, into fear. The general, therefore, being sensible of his genius, completed all difficult enterprizes by his means, respected him as his friend, and conceived a greater esteem for him every day, as being a person whose counsel and projects were always successful; to this we may add a generous and artful disposition, by which qualifications he procured himself an intimacy with many of the Romans.

8. THERE were then in our army, many young upstarts and noblemen, who gave riches the preference to virtue, of a factious disposition, of great interest at home, rather known than personally regarded by our allies, who flush'd the enterprising soul of Jugurtha with many promises, declaring, that at the death of Micipsa, he might easily attain the sovereignty of Numidia; that he was one of uncommon resolution, and that all things were to be sold at Rome. But, when after the subjection of Numantia, Scipio determined to dismiss the

cenſa : ex quibus, ſi talem virum dolis interfeciſſet, ne qua ſeditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

7. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque infidiis opprimi poſſe hominem tam acceptum popularibus ; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus, et appetens gloriæ militaris, ſtatuit eum objectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipſa, cùm populo R. equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, ſperans vel oſtendendo virtutem, vel hoſtium ſævitiâ facile eum occaſurum, præfecit Numidis, quos in Hiſpaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longè aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, & morem hoſtium cognovit ; multo labore, multâque curâ, præterea modeſtiſſimè parendo, & ſæpe obviâ eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem, brevè pervenerat, uti noſtris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori eſſet. Ac ſanè, quod diſſillimum in primis eſt, & prælio ſtrenuus erat, & bonus conſilio : quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque ſolet. Igitur imperator omnis ferè res aſperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magiſque eum indies amplecti ; quippe, cujus neque conſilium, neque inceptum ullum fruſtrâ erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, & ingenii ſollertia : quibus rebus ſibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

8. EA tempeſtate in exercitu noſtro fuere complures novi, atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honeſtèque potiores erant, factioſi ; domi potentes, apud ſocios clari magis quàm honeſti : qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, ſi Micipſa rex occidiſſet, fore uti ſolus imperio Numidiæ potiretur : in ipſo maxumam virtutem, Romæ omnia venalia eſſe. Sed poſtquam, Numantiâ deletâ,

P. Scipio

the auxiliaries, and return home, having presented Jugurtha, and greatly applauded him in the presence of all the forces, he took him to his tent, and thus privately admonished him, “ to cultivate the
 “ friendship of the Romans, to address the people in general, and
 “ not private persons, nor to practise corruption, since it might be
 “ detrimental to purchase of a few, what was the property of many.
 “ For if he would adhere to the practice of his own excellent qua-
 “ lifications, glory and empire would spontaneously invest him ; but
 “ if he hurried on too fast, money would bring on his destruction.”

9. HAVING addressed him in this manner, and given him a letter to Micipsa, he dismissed him. The substance of the letter was this : “ The conduct of your Jugurtha has been exceeding laudable
 “ in the late war with Numantia, which, I am persuaded, will be
 “ a great satisfaction to you. We, as he justly merits it, entertain
 “ a great esteem for him ; and will use our utmost endeavours, that
 “ the senate and people may nurture the same regard. I congratu-
 “ late you, as a friend, on this occasion. With this I send you a
 “ man, worthy of yourself, and his grandfather Masinissa.” The king being now convinced by the letters from the general, of what he had been acquainted with by vulgar tradition, concerned for his noble qualifications, and perplexed at the interest he had established with the Romans, altered his resolution, and endeavoured to gain Jugurtha by favours. Upon this he immediately adopts him, and constitutes him by his will joint heir with his children. A few years after, being weakened by sickness and age, when he was sensible of his short continuance in this world, he is said to have addressed Jugurtha in the following manner, in the presence of his friends and relations, and Atherbal and Hiempsal his sons.

10. “ I received you, when an infant, Jugurtha, into my palace,
 “ destitute of hopes and fortune, persuading myself that you, through
 “ a sense of gratitude, would respect me no less than my own chil-
 “ dren. Nor were my hopes in that affair frustrated. For to omit
 “ speaking any thing of the other grand designs accomplished by
 “ you, you have honoured me and my kingdom, and enhanced its
 “ glory by the late return from Numantia: you have, by your conduct,
 “ more firmly than ever, established the friendship, before subsisting
 “ between us and the Romans ; and thro’ you the name of our family
 “ again blooms in Spain. In fine, what is the most difficult to be ac-
 “ complished

P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, & ipse revorti domum decrevit: donatum, atque laudatum magnificè pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium adduxit; ibique secretò monuit, “ uti potiùs publicè, quàm privatim, amicitiam populi R. coleret: neu quibus largiri infuèsceret: periculosè à paucis emi, quod multorum esset. Si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi & gloriam, & regnum venturum: sin properantiùs pergeret, ipsum pecuniâ præcipitem casurum.”

8. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipsæ redderet, dimisit. Earum sententia hæc erat. “ Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longè maxuma virtus fuit: quam rem tibi certè scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua charus est: ut idem S. P. Q. R. sit, summâ ope nitimur. Tibi quidem pro nostrâ amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissâ.” Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ famâ acceperat, ex literis imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute, tum gratiâ viri permotus, flexit animum suum: & Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est, statimque eum adoptavit, & testamento pariter cum filiis hæredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo, atque ætate confectus, cum sibi finem vitæ adesse intelligeret, coram amicis, & cognatis, itémque Atherbale, & Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurthâ habuisse.

10. “ PARVUM ego te, Jugurtha, amissò patre, finè spe, finè opibus, in meum regnum accepi, existimans non minùs me tibi, quàm si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam ut alia magna & egregia tua omittam, novissumè rediens Numantiâ, méque regnumque meum gloriâ honoravisti; tuâque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hispaniâ nomen familiæ renovatum est: postremò, quod difficillu-

“ accomplished by mortals, you by your glory frustrated the at-
 “ tempts of envy. Now, since I am terminating this life, in obe-
 “ dience to the command of nature, I intreat you by this right hand,
 “ by the sacred majesty of kings, to continue in perpetual love and
 “ amity with those my children, your relations, and by my adop-
 “ tion, brothers; and that you would not rather contract a friend-
 “ ship with foreigners, than fix your affection on those, who are
 “ your relations. A crown is not supported by armies nor treasures,
 “ but by friends, whom you can neither oblige by open violence,
 “ or induce by bribes to be so. They are only gained by favours
 “ and steadiness. What friendship ought to be more firm than that
 “ between brother and brother? or what stranger will you find firm-
 “ ly amicable to you, if you create dissensions amongst yourselves,
 “ united by the sacred tie of blood? I resign to you a kingdom,
 “ which will indeed long continue, if you cultivate a mutual love;
 “ but will soon decay, if you nurture hatred. For by unity, those
 “ states whose power is inconsiderable, soon increase; but those which
 “ have attained to the highest pitch of greatness, are easily dissolved by
 “ dissension. But since you, Jugurtha, are more advanced in years, and
 “ of a superior wisdom to those my children, it is incumbent on you
 “ to enter upon measures, which may defeat all projects which menace
 “ destruction to the state. For in every dispute, the richest party is
 “ judged to be guilty of injustice, tho’ he is really injured, and for
 “ this reason, because his interest is of greater sway. But do you,
 “ Atherbal and Hiempsal, esteem and pay all possible obedience to
 “ this excellent man; let his method of proceeding be the object of
 “ your imitation, and endeavour to convince all people, that the man
 “ I have adopted, is not of a superior character to the children given
 “ me by nature.”

— 11. To this speech Jugurtha replied in an handsome manner,
 tho’ sensible of the deceit with which it was delivered, and differ-
 ing in his inclinations from his declaration. In a few days after Mi-
 cipia died. After they had performed the funeral solemnities, in a
 grand manner, the heirs met in a place, to determine on their con-
 cerns. But the youngest son Hiempsal, naturally haughty, having be-
 fore condemned Jugurtha for his mean original on the mother’s side,
 seated himself at the right hand of Atherbal, to prevent Jugurtha’s
 sitting between him and his brother, which place is judged by
 the Numidians the most honourable. And it was with difficulty he
 was prevailed upon by his brother, to pay a deference to the prero-
 gative

“ mum inter mortalis est, gloriâ invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam
 “ mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem
 “ moneo, obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio
 “ meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quàm
 “ sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque thesauri,
 “ præsidia regni sunt, verùm amici; quos neque armis cogere,
 “ neque auro parare queas: officio & fide pariuntur. Quis au-
 “ tem amicior, quàm frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum,
 “ invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego regnum vobis trado
 “ firmum, si boni eritis; si mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia res
 “ parvæ crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur. Cæterum ante hos
 “ te, Jugurtha, quia ætate, & sapientiâ prior es, ne aliter quid eve-
 “ niat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior
 “ est, etiam si accipit injuriam, tamen, quia plùs potest, facere vi-
 “ detur. Vos autem, Atherbal, & Hiempsal, colite, observate ta-
 “ lem hunc virum; imitamini virtutem, & enitimini, ne ego me-
 “ liores liberos fumpsisse videar, quàm genuisse.”

¶ 11. AD ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intelligebat, &
 ipse longè aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benignè respon-
 dit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio
 justa magnificè fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de
 negotiis cunctis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis
 erat, naturâ ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia mater-
 no genere impar erat, despiciens, dexterâ Atherbalem adsedit; ne me-
 dius ex tribus, quod & apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret.
 Dein tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus à fratre, vix in partem al-

gative of age, and to sit on the other side. However, after much dispute on the measures to be taken in the public administration, Jugurtha, with other things, moved for an abrogation of all laws and decrees made and enacted during the last five years of his reign; since Micipsa, through the infirmities of age, was not intirely sensible. To this Hiempsal said, " he would readily assent, for he had " been adopted within the three last years of his reign." Which words made a more than imaginable impresson on the mind of Jugurtha. Upon which he, from that very day, affected with apprehensions, and fired with displeasure, formed projects, and prepared new artifices, for taking off Hiempsal in a private manner; which designs being executed slowly, and his mind agitated with disquiet, he resolved to effect it by any means.

12. SINCE, in the first meeting, as we have already observ'd, the princes could not agree concerning the method to be observed in the administration; and resolved to divide it, and the treasures; they therefore appointed a day, to determine in what manner they were to be divided, but first how the treasure should be shared. In the mean time, the princes retired separately into places near the treasury; and Hiempsal to Thirmida, where he lodged in the house of one who had formerly been principal beadle to Jugurtha, ever esteemed and respected by him; which man, as now an opportunity favoured him for the execution of his design, he attached by promises to his interest, and persuaded him to go, as if upon account of visiting his house, and prepare false keys for the doors, for the true ones were always carried up to Hiempsal's chamber, declaring, that when every thing was ready for execution, he would come with a considerable body of men. Jugurtha's orders were soon executed by the Numidian, who, conformable to the instructions given him, admitted the soldiers by night, who immediately went different ways, in search of the king; killed some sleeping; others who opposed them; inspected every secret apartment; broke open those that were locked; gave birth to great hurry and confusion. But, amidst the disturbances, Hiempsal is found concealing himself in the maid-servant's lodging; where he, at the first apprehension of danger, and unacquainted with the place, had fled. The Numidians carry his head to Jugurtha, as they were ordered.

13. ALL

teram transductus est. Ibi cùm multa de administrando imperio differerent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacet, oportere quinquennii consulta, & decreta omnia rescindi: Nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parùm animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit: nam ipsum illum tribus his proxumis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altiùs, quàm quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore irâ & metu anxius, moliri, parare, atque ea modò in animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ uti tardiùs procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox; statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

12. PRIMO conventu, quem ab regulis factum suprâ memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius aliò concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmidâ fortè ejus utebatur domo, qui proximus liCTOR Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque ei fuerat semper: quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, impellitque, uti tamquam suam domum visens eat: portarum claves adulterinas paret; nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur. Cæterum, ubi res postularet, seipsum cum magnâ venturum manu. Numida mandata brevè conficit: atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui, postquam in ædes irrupere, diversi regem quærere; dormientis alios, alios occurrentis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: strepitu & tumultu omnia miscere. Cùm interim Hiempsal reperitur, occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quò initio pavidus, & ignarus loci profugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

13. ALL Africa was soon acquainted with this unnatural act by fame, and the proceeding intimidated Atherbal, and those who had been the subjects of Micipsa. The Numidians upon it were divided into two factions; that of Atherbal's was the most numerous, but Jugurtha's was the most resolute; who levying as many troops as possible, subjects many cities, some by open violence, others by insinuating persuasions; and intends no less than the sovereignty of Numidia. Atherbal, on the contrary, tho' he had deputed an embassy to the Roman, to acquaint him with the murder of his brother, and his present situation; yet confiding in the multitude of his forces, he determined to hazard a battle. But when he came to engage, the enemy had the advantage, and he retired into the Roman province, from whence he went to Rome. Jugurtha having now attained the accomplishment of his design, and made himself sole master of Numidia, reflecting in his quiet moments on the murder and hostilities he had committed, was apprehensive of the Romans espousing the cause of his brother, nor could he avert the effects of their displeasure, but by the avarice of the noblesse, and the power of his bribes. Wherefore, in a few days, he sent an embassy to Rome, with a considerable sum of gold and silver, and commanded them to gratify the desires of his former friends with regard to money, to acquire new ones; and to make no demur, but to gain whom they could by bribes. When the ambassadors arrived at Rome, they gave great presents, in obedience to their orders, to those at whose houses they were entertained, and to others who then were at the helm of affairs; which had such effect, that Jugurtha, who was before universally hated, was now in the highest repute with the noblesse; some of whom, induced by hopes, and others allured by real bribes, used their utmost endeavours to prevent the senate's determining any thing detrimental to him. Whereupon, when the ambassadors had secured every thing, they and the king were admitted to an audience at the day appointed; where, as I am informed, Atherbal made the following speech:

14. " My father, illustrious senators, when just expiring, ordered
 " me to consider the administration of Numidia only as mine, but
 " the disposal of it and sovereignty as your property; to endeavour to
 " be of all possible service to the Romans, both in peace and war; to
 " judge you my relations, you my kinsmen, saying, if I proceeded
 " in this manner, I should always find a sufficient support in the cul-
 vation

13. CÆTERUM fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevè divulgatur : Atherbalem, omnisque, qui sub Micipsæ imperio fuerant, metus invadit. In duas partis discedunt Numidæ : plures Atherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha, quàm maxumas potest copias armat : urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit : omni Numidiæ imperare parat. Atherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris, & fortunis suis ; tamen fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac dehinc Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha patris consiliis, postquam omni Numidiâ potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum R. neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritiâ nobilitatis, & pecuniâ suâ, spem habere. Itaque, paucis diebus, cum auro argentoque multo legatos Romam mittit : quis præcipit, uti primùm veteres amicos muneribus expleant ; dein novos acquirant : postremò, quemcunque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere, & ex præcepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum eâ tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere : tanta cummutatio incessit, ut ex maximâ invidiâ in gratiam & favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. Quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, ubi legati satîs confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Atherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

14. “ P. C. Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi præcepit, uti regni
 “ Numidiæ tantummodò procurationem existumarem meam ; cæterum
 “ jus, & imperium penès vos esse ; simul eniterer domi militiæque
 “ quàm maxumo usui esse populo Rom. Vos mihi cognatorum,

“ vos

“ tivation of your friendship, the security of my kingdom, should
 “ be supplied with troops and money. Which instructions,
 “ whilst I was preparing to pursue, this Jugurtha, the most perverse
 “ of mortals, in defiance of your power, has exterminated me the
 “ grandson of Micipsa ; me, I say, who was from the first an ally
 “ and friend of the Romans, from my empire and fortune. And
 “ I wish, fathers, since such a calamitous state was decreed me by
 “ fate, that I could desire your aid, to retaliate my own personal ser-
 “ vices, rather than those of my ancestors ; but mostly that the Ro-
 “ man people was under obligations to me, for a return of which I
 “ should not have occasion ; and if I did want them, only to use
 “ such as were my property. But since probity, without any other
 “ support, is but an inconsiderable guard, and I was incapable of
 “ regulating the measures of Jugurtha, I have retired to you, venerable
 “ fathers, for refuge ; to you, I say, whom, to my great concern,
 “ I am necessitated to trouble, before I could any way benefit.
 “ Other princes, either reduced by you in war, have been received
 “ amongst the number of your allies, or in delicate conjunctures have
 “ desired your alliance.

15. “ But the friendship of our family commenced in the Punic
 “ war, at a time when honour was more regarded than fortune. Per-
 “ mit not me, illustrious fathers, sprung from that branch of Man-
 “ kind, the grandson of Masinissa, to be frustrated in the solicitation
 “ of your alliance. For had I no other grounds for obtaining it, but
 “ my present calamitous situation, that I, who was lately invested
 “ with regal authority, descendant of a noble family, of great re-
 “ pute in the world, and capable of levying a numerous army, being
 “ now embarrassed with misfortunes, am indigent, and in a state of
 “ dependance ; yet would it be consistent with the Roman dignity to
 “ espouse my cause, for the averting of injuries ; nor to suffer any
 “ king to enhance his power by criminal practices. But I am ba-
 “ nished those very territories, which the Romans gave to my an-
 “ cestors ; and which my father and grandfather, acting jointly with
 “ your arms, obliged Syphax and the Carthaginians to relinquish.
 “ I am deprived of the favours with which you deigned to honour
 “ our family, noble senators. The unjust treatment I have met with
 “ has been done thro’ a contempt of you. O miserable Ather-
 “ bal ! Is this the gratitude due for such a number of favours ? And
 “ has your investing him with the same authority, as your own chil-
 “ dren ;

“ vos in locum affinium ducerem : si ea fecissem, in vestrâ amicitia
 “ exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quæ præ-
 “ cepta patris mei cum agitarem ; Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos
 “ terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ
 “ me nepotem, etiam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi R.
 “ regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego P. C. quoniam
 “ eò miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quàm ob
 “ majorum meorum beneficia, posse me à vobis auxilium petere,
 “ ac maxumè deberi mihi beneficia à populo R. quibus non
 “ egerem : secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer.
 “ Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in
 “ manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret : ad vos confugi, P. C. quibus,
 “ quod mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri, quàm usui esse.
 “ Cæteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam à vobis recepti sunt, aut
 “ in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt.

15. “ Familia nostra cum populo R. bello Carthaginensi amicitiam
 “ instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus quàm fortuna pendenda erat.
 “ Quorum progeniem vos, P. C. nolite pati me nepotem Masinissæ
 “ frustra à vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil causæ
 “ haberem, præter miserandam fortunam ; quod paulò antè rex, ge-
 “ nere, famâ, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops,
 “ alienas opes exspecto : tamen erat majestatis populi R. prohibere
 “ injuriam : neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Ve-
 “ rum ego iis finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Rom.
 “ dedit : unde pater, & avus meus unà vobiscum expulere Sypha-
 “ cem, & Carthaginenses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, P. C.
 “ vos in meâ injuriâ despecti estis. Eheu me miserum ! huccine,
 “ Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum li-
 “ beris

“ dren ; has your appointing him, O father Micipsa, joint heir to the
 “ crown, conspired the ruin of your issue ; and made him particu-
 “ larly the instrument ? Shall then our family never be free from di-
 “ sturbances ? Shall we always be dyed with blood, engaged in wars,
 “ sent into banishment ? Indeed, whilst Carthage was standing,
 “ we were justly afflicted, agreeable to the rules of war, with the
 “ most torturing calamities. Our enemies bordered upon us ; you,
 “ our friends and allies, were at a great distance. Our defence
 “ was our arms. But when Africa was no longer infested with that
 “ pestilence, we, affected with unconceivable joy, were masters of
 “ a perfect peace ; since we had no enemy to harass us, unless by
 “ your direction. Then behold on a sudden, Jugurtha conducting
 “ himself with unparalleled audacity, practising every villany, and
 “ elevated by pride, having assassinated my own brother, his near
 “ relation, seized his sovereignty, as the first fruits of his criminal
 “ practices, and seeing it was impracticable to destroy me by the same
 “ artifice ; me, who did not entertain the least suspicion of war or
 “ any violence, has, in contempt of your power, as your eyes may
 “ witness, forced me from my kingdom, my palace, destitute of
 “ every necessary, and embarrassed with calamities ; me whose person
 “ is more secure in any place than in my own kingdom.

16. “ I then thought, noble senators, as I had oft heard my fa-
 “ ther observe, that those who would establish a friendship with you,
 “ must apply themselves industriously ; but that when it is procured,
 “ they are of all mortals the most secure. As much as our family
 “ was capable of effecting to benefit you, it did ; I mean, it sup-
 “ plied you with auxiliaries in all your wars. And now, Fathers,
 “ you are capable of retaliating the favour, by restoring our tran-
 “ quility. My dear father left us two brothers, and was persuaded
 “ Jugurtha would be a third, in return for the honours conferred
 “ upon him. The one is murdered, and I with much difficulty
 “ have extricated myself out of the designs the other had formed
 “ against me. What measures shall I take ? To whom shall I, in this
 “ distress, apply for relief ? My relations, in whom I confided, have
 “ deviated from the opinion I entertained of them ; and my hopes
 “ of any defence from my own family are languished. My father,
 “ induced by necessity, submitted to fate. My brother was murder-
 “ ed by a relation, who (any person would have thought) should
 “ never have nurtured in his breast such a design. My friends and
 “ relations,

“ beris tuis, regniquē participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ ex-
 “ stinctor sit ? numquāne ergo familia nostra quieta erit ? semperne
 “ in sanguine, ferro, fugā versabimur ? Dum Carthaginienses inco-
 “ lumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur. Hostis ab latere : vos
 “ amici procul : spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex
 “ Africā ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus : quippe, quīs hostis nul-
 “ lus erat, nisi fortè quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improvise
 “ Jugurtha, intolerandā audaciā, scelere, atque superbiā sese efferens,
 “ fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum reg-
 “ num ejus, sceleris sui prædam fecit ; post, ubi me iisdem dolis
 “ nequit capere, nihil minùs, quàm vim aut bellum, expectantem,
 “ in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patriā, domo ; inopem,
 “ coopertum miseriis, effecit, ut ubivis tutiùs, quàm in meo regno,
 “ essem.

16. “ Ego sic existumabam, P. C. uti prædicantem audiveram patrem
 “ meum : qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum la-
 “ borem suscipere, cæterum ex omnibus maxumè tutos esse. Quod
 “ in familiā nostrā fuit, præstitit ; uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis :
 “ nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestrā est, P. C. Pater nos
 “ duos fratres reliquit : tertium Jugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est no-
 “ bis conjunctum fore. Alter eorum necatus : alter ipse ego manus
 “ impias vix effugi. Quid agam ? aut quò potissimum infelix acce-
 “ dam ? generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt : pater, uti necesse
 “ erat, naturæ concessit : fratri, quem minumè decuit, propinquus
 “ per scelus vitam eripuit : affinis, amicos, propinquos cæteros meos,
 “ alium

“ relations, either allied by blood or marriage, have been destroyed
 “ in different manners. Some taken prisoners by Jugurtha, have
 “ been crucified ; others have been exposed to the fury of untamed
 “ animals. The small number of them who remained alive, have
 “ been imprisoned in perpetual darkness, and live in misery more
 “ terrible than death. If I enjoyed all the dominions of which I am
 “ deprived, and no relation, no friend was mine enemy, and all
 “ things were in a firm situation, yet would I, if any unforeseen ac-
 “ cident had surprized me, have solicited you, illustrious senators,
 “ for assistance, on whom it is incumbent, because of your extensive
 “ empire, to inspect and regulate the conduct of every state, in a
 “ manner that is consonant with equity. But now where shall I go?
 “ Or where shall I make my application? I, who am banished from
 “ my country, my own palace, wandering alone, and destitute of
 “ every thing necessary for the decent support of life? Shall I solicit
 “ the assistance of foreign nations or princes, who have always en-
 “ tertained a hatred for our family, because of the friendship sub-
 “ sisting between you and us? Or can I go to any place, where there
 “ are not monuments extant of the resolution of my ancestors in your
 “ service? Or can any one be moved with my present situation, who
 “ was always an enemy to you?

17. “ In fine, noble senators, Masinissa's advice to us was always
 “ this; to regard no other friendship but that of the Romans; to
 “ to conclude no treaty, nor contract any alliance with other people;
 “ that your friendship alone could be a sufficient security for us; and
 “ that if ever the Roman empire, through the caprice of fortune,
 “ should decay, we should set with it. Your behaviour, and the
 “ protection of heaven, has rendered you powerful; may your de-
 “ signs succeed, and your subjects be on every occasion submissive;
 “ that you may be capable of revenging the injuries done to your
 “ allies, without any difficulty. I am only apprehensive, lest the
 “ friendship of Jugurtha with some persons in the state, not as yet
 “ acquainted with his disposition, should induce them to proceed un-
 “ justly in this affair; who, I am informed, with great importunity
 “ solicit you, not to determine any thing to his prejudice in his ab-
 “ sence, and without hearing his deposit. There are some who
 “ deny the truth of my assertion, and declare my flight was volun-
 “ tary; since I might have remained in my kingdom. But may
 “ heaven permit me to see the man, by whose criminal proceedings
 “ I have

“ alium alia clades oppressit : capti ab Jugurthâ, pars in crucem acti,
 “ pars bestiis objecti sunt : pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in
 “ tenebris cum mœrore & luctu, morte graviolem vitam exigunt.
 “ Si omnia, quæ aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, in-
 “ columia manerent : tamen, si quid ex improvise mali accidisset,
 “ vos implorarem, P. C. quibus pro magnitudine imperii, jus, & in-
 “ jurias omnis curæ esse decet. Nunc verò exul patriâ, domo, so-
 “ lus, atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quos accedam, aut
 “ quos appellem ? nationésne, an reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ
 “ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt ? an quóquam mihi adire licet,
 “ ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint ? an
 “ quisquam nostrî misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit ?

17. “ Postremò, Masinissa nos ita instituit, P. C. ne quem cole-
 “ remus, nisi pop. R. ne societates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus :
 “ abunde magna præsidia nobis in vostrâ amicitia fore : si huic impe-
 “ rio fortuna mutaretur, unâ occidendum nobis esse. Virtute, ac
 “ diis volentibus, magni estis & òpulenti : omnia secunda, & obedi-
 “ entia sunt : quò faciliùs fociorum injurias curare licet. Tantùm il-
 “ lud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parum cognita,
 “ transvorsos agat : quos ego audio maxumâ ope niti, ambire, fati-
 “ gare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognitâ causâ, statuatis :
 “ fingere me verba, & fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere.
 “ Quod utinam illum cujus impio facinore in has miseras projectus

“ I have been precipitated into my present calamitous situation, using
 “ the same pretences as now ; and may either you, or the immortal be-
 “ ings, at some time direct the concerns of mortals ; that the villain,
 “ who now glories and boasts of his vile proceedings, afflicted with
 “ all the miseries the mind of man is capable of inventing, may suf-
 “ fer the punishment, for which his ingratitude towards his parents,
 “ the horrid crime of fratricide, and my present misfortunes call,
 “ Now, now, Hiempsal, my soul’s affection, tho’ you met with an
 “ untimely death in the bloom of your youth, and from him who
 “ should never have formed such a design ; yet I think I ought rather
 “ to be affected with joy than sorrow, for your fall : for you was
 “ not deprived of your kingdom. It was flight, banishment, indi-
 “ gence, and all those miseries under which I labour, which you
 “ by that happy accident escaped. But I, unhappy man, banished
 “ from my father’s possessions, plunged into an abyss of woe, evi-
 “ dence to mankind the unconstancy of human concerns, uncertain
 “ what measures to take ; whether to resent the injuries offered you
 “ in this indigent character, or only to consult for the recovery of
 “ my kingdom ; when my life and death is entirely dependant on
 “ others. I wish I could put an honourable end to my miseries by
 “ death, to prevent my living in that contemptible situation, which will
 “ necessarily ensue, if wearied with embarrassments, I could quench
 “ the thirst of dominion, and acquiesce in this calamitous state. Since
 “ then I cannot with pleasure wish for life, nor terminate it in an ho-
 “ nourable manner, I entreat you, noble senators, by your own safety,
 “ by the endearing names of your children and parents, by your
 “ sovereign authority, O Romans, to support me in my distress, to
 “ bridle the injurious inclination of Jugurtha ; and permit not the
 “ kingdom of Numidia, which is your possession, to decay by the
 “ murder and total subversion of our family.”

18. WHEN Atherbal had finished his address, Jugurtha’s ambassadors,
 confiding more in the effects of their bribes, than in the justice of their
 cause, replied in a concise manner ; “ that Hiempsal was murdered by
 “ the Numidians for his insupportable cruelty ; that Atherbal was car-
 “ rying on a war against them voluntarily ; and that after he had been
 “ defeated in an engagement, and found it impracticable to compleat
 “ his designs, he now made his complaint. That Jugurtha desired the
 “ senate to look upon him in no other light, than in what he appeared
 “ at Numantia, nor regard the assertions of his enemy more than his
 “ proceedings.”

“ sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam : & aliquando aut apud vos,
 “ aut apud Deos immortalis, rerum humanarum cura oriatur ; ut ille,
 “ qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis
 “ excruciat, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, me-
 “ arumque miserarium gravis pœnas reddat. Jam jam frater animo
 “ meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo, & unde minime de-
 “ cuit, vita erepta est, tamen lætandum magis, quàm dolendum puto
 “ casum tuum. Non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egesta-
 “ tem, & has omnis, quæ me premunt, ærumnas, cum animâ simul
 “ amisisti : at ego infelix in tanta mala præcipitatus, pulsus ex patrio
 “ regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo : incertus quid
 “ agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens ; an regno con-
 “ sulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Uti-
 “ nam, emori, fortunis meis honestus exitus esset ; ne vivere con-
 “ temptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriæ concessissem. Nunc quo-
 “ niam neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet finè dedecore, P. C.
 “ per vos, per liberos, atque parentes vestros, per majestatem po-
 “ puli R. subvenite misero mihi : ite obviam injuriæ : nolite pati
 “ regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus & sanguinem fa-
 “ milia nostræ tabescere.”

18. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione
 magis, quàm causâ, freti, paucis respondent : “ Hiempfalem, ob
 “ sævitiam suam, ab Numidis interfectum : Atherbalem ultro bel-
 “ lum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quòd injuriam fa-
 “ cere nequisset : Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent
 “ ac Numantia cognitus esset ; neu verba inimici ante facta sua po-
 “ nerent.”

“ proceedings.” After this reply both quitted the house, and the senate immediately debated on the concern. The pensioners of the ambassadors, and a great number who were rendered by them disaffected, slighted the address of Atherbal, abundantly applauded the conduct of Jugurtha; and endeavoured, by their interest and votes, in fine by any method, to palliate the villany of Jugurtha, and screen his crimes as vigorously as they would have done had it been for the support of their own honour. Some few, on the contrary, who entertained a greater regard for justice and probity, than for money, voted that Atherbal should be relieved, and severe vengeance taken for the murder of Hiempsal. But more particularly Æmilius Scaurus, one of the noblesse, active, full of party zeal, fond of power, honour, riches; and artful in palliating his own weaknesses. This man, sensible of the open and audacious bribery of the king, and apprehensive that the party, conscious of misconduct, would incur an universal displeasure by such an infamous licentiousness, as is a common incident in such cases, curb’d his darling passion.

19. NOTWITHSTANDING this, the party who regarded money and interest more than probity compleated their design; and it was decreed, “ That ten commissioners should be nominated to divide the “ dominions of Micipsa, between Jugurtha and Atherbal.” Of which commission L. Opimius was the head, a man of great repute, and of great interest in the senate; for he had, during his consulship, slain C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, and had strenuously resented the affront put upon the noblesse by the commonalty. And Jugurtha, tho’ this gentleman had been his friend, and the supporter of his cause at Rome, received him with all imaginable honours; and by giving him considerable presents, with promises of more, he induced him to prefer his interest before his own honour; and in fine, before every other thing. He endeavoured, by the same proceedings, to bring over the other commissioners to his interest, and persuaded most of them; tho’ some declined it, who regarded their honour more than riches. In making the division, that part of Numidia which borders on Mauritania, the most fertile and populous country, was given to Jugurtha. The other, rather showy than intrinsically beneficial, being furnished with more harbours, and beautified with grand edifices, was assigned to Atherbal. To facilitate the attaining a knowledge of those divisions it is not improper, but even necessary to give a brief account of the situation of Africa; and a concise description of those nations, with whom

“neret.” Deinde utrique curiâ egrediuntur. Senatus statim confutitur : fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratiâ depravata, Atherbalis dicta contemnere : Jugurthæ virtutem laudibus extollere ; gratiâ, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere, & flagitio, suâ quasi pro gloriâ, nitebantur : at contrâ pauci, quibus bonum & æquum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Atherbali, & Hiempsalis mortem severè vindicandam censebant : sed ex omnibus maxumè Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum ; cæterum vitia sua callidè occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum à consuetâ lubricine continuit.

19. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, “ uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Atherbalem dividerent.” Cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, & tum in senatu potens, quia consul, C. Graccho & M. Fulvio interfectis, acerrumè vindictam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha, tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen curatissumè recepit : dando, & pollicendo multa perfecit, uti famæ, fidei, postremò omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem viâ aggressus, plerosque capit : paucis carior fides, quàm pecunia, fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur : illam alteram, specie, quàm usu potiorem, quæ portuosior, & ædificiis magis exornata erat, Atherbal possedit. Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere, & eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere.

whom we were engaged in alliance or war. But as to those regions, which, by reason of the intemperate heat and lonely deserts, are less frequented, I can give you no authentic information concerning them; but shall, in a cursory manner, give you an account of the rest.

20. In the division of the world, most people look upon Africa as the third part; and few are of opinion, that Asia and Europe are the two only parts, making Europe comprehend Africa. The limit of this country, on the west, is the strait at the conflux of the ocean and the Mediterranean. The eastern limit is an extensive declivity, by the inhabitants called Catabathmos. The adjacent sea is boisterous, and unfurnished with harbours. The soil in general is rich, and supplies the cattle with forage; but there are very few trees. Here is little or no rain, nor are there many springs. The inhabitants are healthy, swift, and discouraged by no fatigues. Age is their only distemper, but some are destroyed by the sword and wild beasts: for they are seldom taken off by a disease. But they are much infested with destructive animals. I shall now briefly acquaint you with the first inhabitants of Africa, their successors, and the plan of their government; and altho' it differs, in every respect, from vulgar tradition, yet it is agreeable to the account I received by interpretation from the Carthaginian books, which were said to be wrote by king Hiempfal, and which the inhabitants judge to be authentic, as to the relation of facts. But I will not affirm it, since it is incumbent on the authors to answer for the truth of the account.

21. THE primitive inhabitants of Africa were the Getulians and Libyans, a barbarous and uncivilized people, whose sole subsistence was venison, or like that of cattle, herbs. They were free and independant, wandring and unsettled, whose habitations were in the places where night obliged them to continue. But when Hercules, as the Africans are induced to believe, died in Spain, his army, composed of various people, being now destitute of a commander, and each being bent on procuring the command for himself, was soon weakened. The Medes, Persians and Armenians, who were part of the army, embarking on board transports, came over to Africa, and possessed themselves of those places situated near the Mediterranean. But the Persians seized the country bordering on the Atlantic ocean, and form'd huts by inverting the hulls of their ships; because there was no timber in those regions, nor had they an opportunity to trade

Sed quæ loca & nationes, ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minùs frequentata sunt, de iis haud facilè compertum narraverim : cætera quàm paucissimis absolvam.

20. In divisione orbis terræ plerique in parte tertiâ Africam posuere : pauci, tantummodo Asiam, & Europam esse, sed Africam in Europâ. Ea finis habet, ab occidente fretum nostri maris & oceani : ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem : quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant. Mare sævum, importuosum. Ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infœcundus : cælo, terrâque penuria aquarum : genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum : plerisque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut à bestiis interiere. Nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, mælefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quo modo inter se permixti sint ; quamquàm ab eâ famâ, quæ plerisque obtinet, diversum est, tamen, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est ; utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quàm paucissimis dicam. Cæterùm fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

21. AFRICAM initio habuere Gætuli, & Libyes, asperi incultique ; quibus cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cujusquam regebantur : vagi, palantes, quas nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit : exercitus ejus compositus ex gentibus variis, amissio duce, ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevè dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, & Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximus nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persæ intra Oceanum magis : hique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere : quia neque materia in agris,

trade with the Spaniards; since a wide sea and an unknown language prevented all commerce. Those people gradually intermarrying with the Getulians, united with them; and because they oft moved their habitations, to try the fertility of the soil, they called themselves Numidians. But even now all the Numidian buildings are poor oblong cottages, which they name Mapalia, the sides being bent like the hull of a ship. As for the Medes and Armenians, their alliance was solicited by the Lybians, who inhabited that part which borders upon the Mediterranean, (the Getulians are more under the sun, not far distant from the line) and they founded towns: for a narrow streight only separating them from Spain, they resolved to establish a commerce with them. The Libyans, in a short time, changed their name, calling them in their own language Moors, instead of Medes. But the affairs of the Persians quickly flourished; and afterwards the Persians, called Numidians, upon account of their number, separating themselves from their parents, took possession of those places adjoining to Carthage, which is called Numidia. Soon after this, both relying on the assistance of each other, accomplished the subjection of the neighbouring nations, either by arms or apprehension of war, and acquired a substantial character and immense glory; particularly those inhabited on the coasts of our sea; because the Lybians were less inspired with martial ardour than the Getulians. Lastly, the lower part of Africa is mostly possessed by the Numidians; the vanquished are incorporated with the victors, and are called by the same name.

22. AFTER this the Phenicians, some to diminish the number of their own inhabitants, others, thro' a fond desire of empire, solicited the people, and those who had strong inclinations for novelty, to attend them in the expedition; and founded Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other cities on the sea-coast; which, in a short time, enhancing their power, were a defence and ornament to the founders. As to Carthage, I judge it more proper to be entirely silent on its description, than to hint a little; because I hasten to acquaint you with the other parts. Wherefore, by Catabathmos, the boundary of Africa on the side of Egypt, on the adjoining Sea, is situated Cyrene, which first presents itself to our view, a colony of the Thereans, then the two Syrtes, and between them Leptis, then the altars of the Phileni, which place limited the empire of the Carthaginians, on the side of Egypt. After these we meet with other Carthaginian cities. The
other

neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut mutandi copia erat. Mare magnum, & ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere : & quia sæpe tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas appellavere. Cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ Mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem, & Armeniis accessere Libyes. Nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant : (Gætuli sub sole magis ; haud procul ab ardoribus :) híque maturè oppida habuere. Nam, freto divisi ab Hispaniâ, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paulatim Libyes corrumpere, barbarâ linguâ Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevè adolevit : ac postea nomen Numidæ, propter multitudinem, à parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quæ proxuma Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde, utrique alteris freti, finitimos armis, aut metu sub imperium suum coegere ; nomen gloriâque sibi addidere ; magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant : quia Libyes, quàm Gætuli, minus bellicosi : denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est : victi omnes in gentem noménque imperantium concessere.

22. POSTEA Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratiâ, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitatâ plebe, & aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliâsque urbis in orâ maritimâ condidere : Hæque brevè multum auctæ, pars originibus suis præsidio, aliæ decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine filere melius puto, quàm parum dicere : quoniam aliò properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africâ dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereon, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, intérque eas Leptis, deinde Philenon aræ : quem locum Ægyptum versùs finem imperii habuere Carthaginienfes : post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cætera

other parts, till you come to Mauritania, are in the hands of the Numidians. The Moors possess that country opposite to the coast of Spain. To the south of Numidia lie the Getulians, some living quite uncivilized and unsettled; others in Mapalia. More South is Ethiopia, and beyond those lie regions parched with the violent heat of the Sun. In the Jugurthine war, most of the Punic cities and frontier towns, which were once subject to Carthage, were ruled by magistrates commissioned for that purpose by the Roman people. A great part of Getulia and Numidia, as far as the river Mulucha, was under the command of Jugurtha. King Bocchus was master of all Mauritania, with whom, except the name, the Romans were quite before unacquainted, either in war or peace. But I have intimated sufficiently on this head.

23. AFTER the division of the kingdom, the commissioners departed from Africa; and Jugurtha, tho' apprehensive of proceedings quite averse to those, perceived that he had got even a reward for his criminal practices, and convinced that what was asserted by his friends at Numantia was true, that all things were to be purchased at Rome; and being at the same time excited by the promises of those gentlemen, to whom he had just before made large presents, he endeavoured to make himself master of the kingdom of Atherbal. He was warlike and vigorous; but the king, against whom he intended to march, was of a pacific disposition, weak, of a mild temper, passive, and rather apprehensive than causing apprehension. Upon this Jugurtha enters his dominions with a considerable body of troops, takes many persons prisoners, and seizes upon cattle and other booty; fires the buildings, and pillages all places with his cavalry. After having effected this, he returns with his army into his own territories, persuading himself that Atherbal being displeased, would revenge the injuries committed on himself and his subjects, and that a war would ensue. But he, not thinking himself so well versed in the art of war as Jugurtha, confiding more in the friendship of the Romans, than the conduct of his subjects, sent deputies to Jugurtha to complain of his criminal proceedings, who, tho' they returned with a cold answer, yet he was determined to suffer any abuse, rather than declare war; since he had experienced his ill-fortune in the late one. But notwithstanding he was inclined to peace, Jugurtha did not relinquish his design, since he had in thought already wasted his dominions. Wherefore he did not attack him with a light-armed body of pillagers, as before, but
took

loca usque ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent. Proxumè Hispaniam Mauri sunt. Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incultiùs vagos agitare : post eos Æthiopas esse : dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida, & finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissumè habuerant, populus R. per magistratus administrabat : Gætulorum magna pars, & Numidiæ ad flumen usque Mulucham sub Jugurthâ erant : Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cæterà ignarus populi R. itémque nobis neque bello, neque pace antea cognitus : de Africâ, & ejus incolis, ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

23. POSTQUAM, diviso regno, legati Africâ decessere ; & Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt ; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse, simul & illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulò antè muneribus expleverat, in regnum Atherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus : at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placidus ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis, quàm metuendus. Igitur ex improvise finis ejus cum magnâ manu invadit : multos mortalis cum pecore, atque aliâ predâ capit : ædificia incendit ; pleraque hostiliter cum equitatu accedit. Deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existumans dolore permotum Atherbalem injurias suas manu vindicatorum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, & amicitiam populi R. magis, quàm Numidis, fretus erat ; legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit : qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, priùs tamen omnia pati decrevit, quàm bellum sumere : quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur : quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea,

cum

took the field with a disciplined army, and openly attempted the sovereignty of all Numidia. Wherever he marched, he destroyed cities, ravaged fields, took great plunder; animated his ownmen; but intimidated those of the enemy.

24. WHEN Atherbal perceived his affairs were in such a delicate situation, that he was necessitated, either to relinquish his right to the crown, or support it by dint of arms, he levies an army, and advances to oppose Jugurtha. In the mean time both armies sat down near Cirta, not far distant from the sea; but the day being far advanced, prevented their engaging. But when the greatest part of the night was passed, and day-light scarce appeared, Jugurtha's foldiers, upon the signal being given, force the enemies intrenchments, defeat and rout them, some half asleep, and others running to their arms. Atherbal, with a small number of cavalry, escaped to Cirta; and unless there had been a considerable number of Romans, which drove the Numidians pursuing him from the walls, in one day would a war between two princes have been entered upon and terminated. Wherefore Jugurtha laid siege to the town, and endeavoured, by the disposition of his tortoises, towers, and other machines, to gain it; hastening as much as possible to reduce Atherbal, before the Deputies, who, he was informed, were sent to Rome before the battle, could return with any auxiliary troops. But the senate, as soon as they received news of their being engaged in a war, depute three young gentlemen to apply to both princes, and to declare to them, that the senate would, and voted it as the most proper, that they should lay down their arms, and terminate the dispute by pacific not warlike measures; since it would be more honourable for the Romans and themselves.

25. THE deputies hastened back to Africa, being hurried much more by the intelligence they received at Rome, of the battle and the siege of Cirta; and such as attenuated the injustice of Jugurtha's proceedings. He having heard the deputies, made them this answer:
 " That he respected nothing more than the authority of the senate;
 " that he had used his utmost endeavours, from his youth, to merit
 " the approbation of the most honourable men; and that P. Scipio,
 " that worthy gentleman, had entertained a regard for him, not for
 " his criminal practices, but for his laudable qualifications. That
 " Micipsa had adopted him for his successor, not for want of chil-
 " dren, but for the same singular conduct. And that the case was
 this,

cum prædatoriâ manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, & apertè totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Cæterùm, quâ pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, prædas agere ; suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere.

24. ATHERBAL ubi intelligit eò processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessariò copias parat, & Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interim haud longè à mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque confedit exercitus : & quia diei extremum erat, prælium non inceptum ; sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt ; semisomnos partim, alios arma fumentis fugant, funduntque : Atherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit : & nî multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentis mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum, atque patratum foret bellum. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumfedit : vineis, turribusque & machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur : maxumè festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante prælium factum Romam ab Atherbale missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant ; S. P. Q. R. verbis nuncient, velle, & censere, eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis, jure potius quam bello distare : ita seque, illisque dignum esse.

25. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt ; eò magis quod Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio factò, & oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur : sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha acceptâ oratione respondit : “ Sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate
 “ senati esse : ab adolescentiâ suâ ita se enisum, ut ab optimo quo-
 “ que probaretur : virtute, non malitiâ, P. Scipioni, summo viro pla-
 “ cuisse : ob easdem artis à Micipsâ, non penuriâ liberorum, in reg-

" this, the more agreeable his behaviour had been, the more he re-
 " sented an injury. That Atherbal had formed a design inconsistent
 " with his safety, which, having discovered, he had taken all effec-
 " tual means to prevent. That the Roman people would act neither
 " equitably nor honourably, if they deprived him of the right al-
 " lowed all nations. In fine, that he himself would depute embassa-
 " dors to Rome, to inform them of every thing." Having delivered
 this answer, they both withdrew. The deputies had no opportunity
 of speaking to Atherbal. When Jugurtha thought they had quitted
 Africa, and found it impracticable to gain the town by arms, on ac-
 count of the situation of the place, he draws a line of circumvallation,
 makes a fosse, erects towers, in which he places garrisons to prevent
 sallies, and constantly used all deceit and open force imaginable to re-
 duce it: sometimes making promises to the besieged, at other times
 menacing them, and animating his own men, desiring them to act
 as strenuously as possible; and, in fine, redoubled his application and
 attention in carrying on the siege. When Atherbal perceived that he
 was reduced to the utmost extremity, that the enemy was resolute,
 and that himself, destitute of hopes or resource, was incapable of hold-
 ing out through want of necessaries, he chuses, of those men with
 whom he escaped to Cirta, two of the most resolute; and by mak-
 ing them great promises, and deploring his misfortunes, persuades
 them, in the dead of the night, to penetrate through the fortifications of
 the enemy to the sea, and then to proceed to Rome. The Numidians, in a
 short time, acted according to their instructions: and the letter of
 Atherbal was read in the senate, the substance of which was as follows:

26. " You must, noble Sirs, not impute it to me as a fault, for so
 " oft solliciting your assistance, but to the violent proceedings of Ju-
 " gurtha, which have necessitated me to act in such a manner; a
 " man who is so eagerly desirous of my subversion, that he nei-
 " ther regards you, nor heaven; and prefers the possession of
 " my blood to all things else in being. Pursuant to this resolution,
 " I, who am an ally and friend of the Romans, have been block'd up
 " five months, whilst neither the favours of my father Misipsa, or
 " your decrees, are any way serviceable to me. I am incapable of
 " informing you, whether I am harrassed by sword or famine.
 " My present circumstances incapacitate me from expatiating on
 " the proceedings of Jugurtha. I am, by long experience, con-
 " vinced how little credit is given to the unfortunate. But I am en-
 " tirely

“ num adoptatum esse : cæterum, quò plura bene, atque strenuè fecif-
 “ set, eò animum suum injuriam minùs tolerare : Atherbalem dolis
 “ vitæ suæ infidiatum : quod ubi comperisset, ejus sceleri obviàm iſſe :
 “ populum R. neque rectè, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure
 “ gentium sese prohibuerit : postremò, de omnibus rebus legatos
 “ Romam brevè missurum.” Ita utrique digrediuntur. Atherbalis
 appellandi copia non fuit. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africâ decessisse ratus
 est, neque propter naturam loci Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo,
 atque fossâ mœnia circumdat : turris extruit, eâsque præfidiis firmat :
 præterea dies noctesque, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare : defensori-
 bus mœnium præmia modò, modò formidinem ostentare : suos hor-
 tando ad virtutem erigere : prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Atherbal
 ubi intelligit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum,
 auxilii spem nullam, penuriâ rerum necessariûm bellum trahi non pos-
 se ; ex iis, qui unâ Cirtam profugerant, duos maxumè impigros dele-
 git : eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat,
 uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam
 pergerent. Numidæ paucis diebus jussâ efficiunt : literæ Atherbalis
 in senatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

26. “ Non meâ culpâ sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, P. C. sed vis
 “ Jugurthæ subigit : quem tanta lubido me extinguendi invasit, uti
 “ neque vos, neque deos immortalis in animo habeat : sanguinem me-
 “ um, quàm omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius &
 “ amicus populi Rom. armis obsessus teneor : neque mihi Micipsæ
 “ patris mei beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur : ferro, an
 “ fame acriùs urgear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurthâ scribere de-
 “ hortatur fortuna mea : etiam antea expertus sum, parùm fidei
 “ miseris esse. Nisi tamen intelligo illum, suprâ quàm ego sum,

“ tirely sensible, that he aims at something more than my subversion,
 “ nor ever expects to enjoy my dominions with your friendship;
 “ and of which he is most desirable none can be ignorant. For,
 “ at his first entering upon the government, he put my brother
 “ Hiempsal to death, and then dispossessed me of my father’s
 “ dominions. Let these be looked upon as injuries committed on us
 “ alone, which don’t affect you. But he now retains, by open force,
 “ your kingdom, and blocks me up, and besieges me, whom you
 “ have appointed king of Numidia; what regard he has shewn to
 “ your sacred embassy, my present circumstances fully evince. What
 “ then remains which is capable of awing him, but your assistance?
 “ For I would, that those things with which I now acquaint you,
 “ and of which I before complained in the senate, were rather mere
 “ fiction, than that my desperate condition should convince you of
 “ the truth of what I assert. But since I was destined by fate, to
 “ be the person who should discover to mankind the vile proceed-
 “ ings of Jugurtha, I don’t desire to be delivered from death and
 “ misery; only from the power of Jugurtha, and the torments with
 “ which I must necessarily be afflicted. Make what resolutions you
 “ please concerning the kingdom of Numidia; but, by the dignity
 “ of your empire, and the honour of the friendship subsisting be-
 “ twixt me and you, rescue me from the hands of this fratricide, if
 “ you nurture any regard for the memory of my grandfather Mas-
 “ nissa.”

27. THIS letter being read, some thought it proper to send an ar-
 my into Africa, and to relieve Atherbal as soon as possible; debating,
 in the mean time, on what measures to take against Jugurtha, for
 the flight put upon the deputies. But this affair met with a strong
 opposition from those who were of the party of Jugurtha. Thus did
 private interest prevail over the public good, as is customary in most
 concerns. However, some of the elderly nobles, who had enjoyed
 the highest offices in the state, are deputed to Africa; amongst whom
 was the abovementioned Scaurus, a consular gentleman, and the prin-
 cipal of the senate. These noblemen, as the proceedings of Jugur-
 tha were universally detested, and the Numidian deputies importuned
 then to hasten, embarked in three days; and arriving at Utica in a
 short time, they send a letter to Jugurtha, desiring him to make all
 possible haste into the province; for they were commissioned by the
 senate to bring him a message. He being sensible of the arrival of
 persons

“ petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, & regnum meum spe-
 “ rare : utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam in-
 “ itio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum : dein patrio regno me ex-
 “ pulit. Quæ sanè fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verùm
 “ nunc regnum vestrum armis tenet : me, quem vos Imperato-
 “ rem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet : legatorum verba
 “ quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid est reliquum, nisi
 “ vis vestra, qua moveri possit? nam ego quidem vellem, & hæc
 “ quæ scribo, & illa quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent
 “ potius, quàm miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eò
 “ natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem : non jam mor-
 “ tem, neque æumnas, tantummodò inimici imperium, & cruciatus
 “ corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti libet,
 “ consulite : me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii,
 “ per amicitiae fidem ; si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Ma-
 “ finissæ.”

27. His litteris recitatis, fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittendum
 censerent, & quàm primùm Atherbali subveniendum : de Jugurthâ
 interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab is-
 dem illis fautoribus regis summâ ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret.
 Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privatâ gratiâ de-
 victum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu nobiles, amplis ho-
 noribus usi : in quibus fuit M. Scaurus, de quo suprâ memoravimus,
 consularis, & tunc senatûs princeps. Hi, quòd in invidiâ res erat,
 simul & à Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere : dein brevè
 Uticam adpulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, quàm ocyssumè ad
 provinciam accedat ; se ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille, ubi accepit
 homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, con-

persons of great dignity, and whose interest biassed every thing at Rome, to frustrate his proceedings; he was distracted, and was tossed with fear, and a fond desire of executing his present intent. He was apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of the senate, if he slighted the orders of their deputies; and yet his mind, infatuated with ambition, incited him to execute his abominable intent. At last, the captivating influence of ambition biassed his thirsty soul. Pursuant to which resolution, having drawn up his forces round the walls, he endeavoured, by dint of arms, to break into Cirta; entertaining great hopes, that by dividing the enemy, by violence or his artful practices, he might find some happy moment, wherein to gain the victory: but when he could not effect his intention of making himself master of the person of Atherbal, before he waited upon the deputies, lest he should incense Scaurus against him, who much alarm'd him, he went with a few attendance of horse into the province; and though they menaced him very heavily in the name of the senate, for not desisting from his design; yet, after many tedious debates, the deputies departed, being incapable of persuading him to relinquish his resolution.

28. WHEN the citizens of Cirta were informed of this, the Italians, by whose resolution the walls were defended, persuaded themselves, that if they surrendered, they should be unhurt, on account of the Roman dignity, advise Atherbal to capitulate with Jugurtha for himself and town on this condition, that their lives should be spared; representing, at the same time, that the senate would make all other affairs the object of their care. But though he, singularly, detested a confidence in Jugurtha; yet as he was sensible they could oblige him, if he did not consent, he surrendered on the conditions the Italians proposed. Upon this Jugurtha, after having tortured Atherbal in a most cruel manner, put him to death, together with all the Numidian youths, and the merchants who were armed, to oppose him.

29. WHEN these proceedings were known at Rome, and the affair was debated in the house, those same pensioners of the king, by their frequent interruptions, and by deferring the affair by their interest, and sometimes by long contentions, attenuated the injustice of the crime. And unless C. Memmius, tribune of the people elect, an active man, and a professed enemy to the power of the noblesse, had acquainted the Roman people, that their intent was to palliate the violent proceedings of Jugurtha, from their resentment, by a few
1
factious

tra inceptum suum venisse : primò commotus metu, atque lubidine, divorfus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, nō paruiſſet legatis : porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summâ vi Cirtam irrumperè nititur, maxumè sperans, diductâ manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis sese casum victoriæ inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quàm legatos conveniret, Atherbalis potiretur ; ne ampliùs morando Scaurum, quem plurimùm metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. At tametsi senati verbis graves minæ nunciabantur, quòd ab oppugnatione non desisteret ; multâ tamen oratione consumptâ, legati frustra discessere.

28. EA postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur ; confisi, deditione factâ, propter magnitudinem populi R. inviolatos sese fore, Atherbali suadent, uti seque, & oppidum Jugurthæ tradat, tantùm ab eo vitam paciscatur ; de cæteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur ; tamen, quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem fecit. Igitur Jugurtha in primis Atherbalem excruciatum necat : dein omnis puberes Numidas, atque negotiatores promiscuè, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, interfecit.

29. QUOD postquam Romæ cognitum est, & res in senatu agitari cœpta ; iidem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratiâ, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac nō C. Memmius, tribunus pleb. designatus, vir acer, & infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum R. edocuiſſet id agi, uti per paucos factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaretur : profectò omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus,

factionous persons ; the odium of this affair, by their obstructing proceedings, would have presently disappeared ; so prevalent was the interest of the bribes of the king. But when the senate, through a consciousness of their own guilt, apprehended the displeasure of the commons, the provinces, by the Sempronian law, were voted to the ensuing consuls : P. Scipio Nasica, and L. Bestia Calpurnius, were declared consuls. Calpurnius had Numidia, and Scipio Italy. Upon this an army was raised to embark for Africa, and money and other necessities were decreed.

30. BUT Jugurtha, being informed of those measures, entered upon, contrary to his expectations, since he had always persuaded himself, that all things were to be sold at Rome, sent his son and two of his household as ambassadors to the senate ; and gave the same instructions to them, as to those he sent before, upon the murder of Hiempsal, to endeavour by bribes to gain over every one. After they arrived at Rome, the senate was convened by Bestia, to be informed of their pleasure, whether they should admit the ambassadors of Jugurtha into the city ; and they resolved upon this, That unless they came to deliver up him and his kingdom, they should quit Italy in ten days. The consul ordered the ambassadors to be acquainted with the resolution of the senate ; and accordingly they departed, having effected nothing. In the mean time Calpurnius, having levied an army, nominates noblemen full of party zeal his lieutenant-generals, by whose authority he persuaded himself, that the crimes he should have committed would be unpunished. Amongst those was Scaurus, whose character I have above delineated : for our consul was invested with eminent abilities, both ornaments of the soul and the body ; all which were eclipsed by his avarice. He was capable of bearing the greatest hardships, witty, penetrating, well vers'd in the art of war, and the most capable of averting dangers, and defeating stratagems. The legions were brought through Italy to Rhegium, from which place they were transported to Sicily, and thence to Africa ; where Calpurnius having procured all necessities, vigorously prosecuted the war in Numidia ; took many prisoners, and some towns, sword in hand.

31. BUT when Jugurtha, by his deputies, tryed the influence of his money, and represented to him the difficulties in carrying on the war, his soul, sick with avarice, soon changed its resolution. Scaurus was made his intimate friend, and assistant-counsellor ; who,

fultationibus, dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratiæ, atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientiam populum timet, lege Semproniam provinciæ futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ: consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. Dein exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium, aliæque, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

30. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venire, in animo hæserat filium, & cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit; iisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, præcipit, omnis mortalis pecuniâ adgrediantur: qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus à Bestiâ consultus est, placeretne legatos Jugurthæ recipi mœnibus; iique decrevere, nî regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italiâ decederent. Consul Numidis ex senatûs decreto nunciari jubet. Ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat, in quibus fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura & habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi, & corporis erant: quas omnis avaritia præpediebat. Patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula & insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porrò ex Siciliâ in Africam transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius, initio paratis com meatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est; multosque mortalis, & urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

31. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecuniâ tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit: animus æger avaritiâ facile conversus est. Cæterum socius, & administer omnium consilio-

rum.

tho' he had, from the beginning, when most of his faction was bribed, strenuously opposed the cause of Jugurtha, yet the great sums of money given him caused him to degenerate from his honour and probity into depravity. Jugurtha had only at first procured himself a cessation of arms, supposing he could effect something by his interest or bribes at Rome. But now perceiving he had brought Scaurus over to favour his design; and upon his conceiving great hopes of concluding a peace, he determined in person to treat on all concerns in general. But in the mean time, Sextius the quaestor is sent as an hostage by the consul to Vacca, a town of Jugurtha's, under pretence of receiving the corn which Calpurnius had ordered in public his commissioners to provide, because a suspension of arms was settled for the surrender of Jugurtha. Wherefore the king, as he had appointed, came into the camp, when having spoke before the council, in a cursory manner, of the displeasure he had incurred by his crimes, and intreating them to admit him to a surrender, he transacted other things in private with Bestia and Scaurus. And on the following day the sentiments of the assembly on various circumstances being delivered confusedly, he was allowed to surrender; but on the conditions settled by the council, that he should deliver up thirty elephants, cattle, and a great number of horses, and some inconsiderable quantity of silver to the quaestor, which was accordingly done. Calpurnius returns to Rome for the election of new magistrates; during whose absence no hostilities were committed in Numidia.

32. WHEN tradition had informed the Romans of the proceedings in Africa, and of the manner in which they were done, the conduct of the consul became a common topic, at all meetings and other places. The commons were very much displeased at the measures which had been taken; and the senate quite anxious. They were in great doubt, whether they should ratify his scandalous proceedings, or abolish his resolutions. The principal cause which prevented their steady adherence to justice, was the power of Scaurus, who was reported to have been the author of these designs, and assistant-counsellor to Bestia. But C. Memmius, whose audacity, and inveteracy against the nobles I have above observ'd, amidst the doubts and dilatory proceedings of the senate, solicits the people by his speeches to punish the consul's conduct, and desires them not to relinquish the public cause, and their own liberty. He instanced the
many

rum assumitur Scaurus : qui tametsi à principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrumè regem impugnaverat ; tamen magnitudine pecuniæ, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primùm tantummodò belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid interim Romæ pretio, aut gratiâ effecturum : postea verò, quàm participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maxumum spem adductus recuperandæ pacis statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus præfens agere. Ceterùm interea fidei causâ mittitur à consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vaccam : cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palàm legatis imperaverat : quoniam deditionis morâ induciæ agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit : ac pauca præfenti consilio locutus de invidiâ facti sui, atque ut in deditionem acciperetur : reliqua cum Bestiâ, & Scauro secreta transegit : dein postero die, quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephantum xxx. pecus, atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere, quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidiâ & exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

32. POSTQUAM res in Africâ gestas, quoque modo actæ forent, fama divulgavit, Romæ per omnis locos & conventus de facto consulis agitari : apud plebem gravis invidia : patres solliciti erant ; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxumè eos potentia Scauri, quòd is auctor & socius Bestiæ ferebatur, à vero bonoque impediabat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii, & odio potentiæ nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem & moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindican-

many proud and cruel proceedings of the nobleſſe ; and endeavoured, with redoubled attention, to excite the people to oppoſe them. But as C. Memmius was eminent at that time in Rome, for an uncommon flow of eloquence, I have thought proper to infer one out of the great number of his orations ; that, I mean, which he made before an aſſembly of the commons, after the return of Beſtia, to this effect :

33. “ MANY things would deter me from having recourſe to you, Romans, did not a particular regard for the intereſt of the ſtate influence me more than all other concerns ; the prevalent power of the factions, your eaſy diſpoſition, and your contempt of authority would diſconcert me ; but more particularly the dangers to which the innocent are expoſed, and the little honour which is paid them : for it gives me no ſmall concern to inform you how ſcandalouſly you have been uſed by the haughtineſs of a few perſons for theſe fifteen years paſt, how ſhamefully the protectors of your rights have been put to death, without in the leaſt puniſhing thoſe who were really the offenders ; and how, merely thro’ dejection of ſpirit and indolence, you degenerate from your former reſolution ; and not only demur in defending yourſelves from theſe perſons, you have in your power, but are apprehenſive of ſome ill conſequences from them, whom you ought by your conduct to intimidate. But though you are ſo remiſs, yet I am reſolved to oppoſe the power of the party. I will endeavour, however, to preſerve the liberty committed to my care by my father. But whether this affair will be effected ſucceſſfully or no, is wholly dependant on your behaviour, Romans.

34. “ NEITHER do I deſire you, conformable to the practice of your anceſtors, to defend yourſelves againſt their unjuſt proceedings, by dint of arms ; violence or a retreat is quite unneceſſary, for their own meaſures will diſconcert them. At the murder of T. Gracchus, who, they report, endeavoured to attain the government, criminal practices were uſed againſt the commons ; and after that of C. Gracchus, and M. Fulvius, many even of our order were put to death in the priſon ; nor was it law which terminated theſe cruel meaſures, but their own caprice. But let an endeavour to reſtate the people in their privileges be judged an intent to ſeize the ſovereignty. Let every thing which cannot be revenged without the

dum hortari, monere, ne remp. ne libertatem suam defererent : multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere : prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam eâ tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollénsque fuit ; decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere ; ac potissimum ea dicam, quæ in concione post reditum Bestiæ hujuscemodi verbis disse-ruit.

33. “ Multa me dehortantur à vobis, Quirites, nî studium reipub.
 “ omnia superet ; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jûs nullum, ac maxu-
 “ mè, quod innocentia plus periculi, quàm honoris est. Nam illa
 “ quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quàm ludibrio fueritis superbiæ
 “ paucorum ; quàm fœdè, quàmque inulti perierint vestri defensores ;
 “ uti vobis animus ab ignaviâ atque socordiâ corruptus sit : qui ne
 “ nunc quidem, obnoxiiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc ti-
 “ metis eos, quibus vos decet terrori esse. Sed quamquàm hæc talia
 “ sunt : tamen obviam ire factionis potentia, animus subigit. Certè
 “ ego libertatem, quæ mihi à parente meo tradita est, experiar :
 “ verùm id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestrà manu situm est,
 “ Quirites.

34. “ Neque ego vos hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti
 “ contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est :
 “ necesse est, suomet ipsi more præcipites eant. Occiso Ti. Graccho,
 “ quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones gra-
 “ ves habitæ sunt. Post C. Gracchi, & M. Fulvii cædem, item
 “ ordinis vestri, multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. Utriusque
 “ cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sanè fuerit
 “ regni paratio, plebi jura sua restituere. Quidquid finè sanguine

“ the effusion of the blood of the citizens, be justly undertaken. For
 “ many years past, tho’ silent, yet you were affected with the utmost
 “ displeasure, to see the treasury plundered, kings and independant
 “ people pay their tribute to a few of the noblesse, and honours and
 “ empire at their disposal only. Notwithstanding this, they were not
 “ satisfied to have been unpunished for those measures; and therefore
 “ your laws, your majesty, nay all things divine and human, with-
 “ out distinction, were delivered up as a prey to your enemies. Nor
 “ are they ashamed or affected with the least concern for their pro-
 “ ceedings; but stalk haughty, in an exquisite vest, before your
 “ face, invested with sacred offices and consulships, triumphs, as
 “ if they regarded them only for the honour, and not for the
 “ opportunity then given them of defrauding the state. Slaves pur-
 “ chased with money refuse to bear the insupportable commands of
 “ their masters; and do you then, Romans, born for empire, tame-
 “ ly bear to be subjected to slavery? But who are the persons now in-
 “ vested with the supreme command? The most impious, sanguine,
 “ avaritious, destructive, haughty men, who sell faith, glory, reli-
 “ gion, nay, every thing, honourable or dishonourable. Some have
 “ defended themselves by killing your tribunes, some by making
 “ criminal enquiries, and some by slaughtering you: thus the more
 “ crimes a man perpetrates, the more secure he is; and instead of
 “ your rendering them apprehensive of the punishments their crimes
 “ merit, they, through your easy disposition, intimidate you; they
 “ who are firmly united by the similitude of their tempers, desiring,
 “ detesting, and fearing the same things; which union amongst us
 “ is called friendship, but amongst the ill-disposed, faction.

35. “ BUT if you nurtured as great a regard for the defence of your
 “ liberty, as they do for the attainment of the sovereignty, the state
 “ would not be in the same situation as it is at present; and your fa-
 “ vours would be conferred on the best, and not on the most auda-
 “ cious men. Your ancestors twice left the city, and took possession
 “ of the Aventine mount, to claim their privileges, and restore their
 “ power; and will not you, to the utmost of your power, maintain
 “ that liberty, which you received from them? And the more vigo-
 “ rously, since it is a greater scandal to be divested of what you have
 “ once acquired, than never to have attained it. Some may then say,
 “ what measures would I have taken? I would inflict a punishment on
 “ those persons who have betrayed the state to an enemy, but not
 “ by

“ civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti
 “ indignabamini ærarium expilari; reges & populos liberos paucis
 “ nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem & summam gloriam, &
 “ maxumas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse,
 “ parum habuere: itaque postremò leges, majestas vestra, divina &
 “ humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere,
 “ pudet, aut pœnitet; sed incedunt per ora vestra magnificè, sacer-
 “ dotia, & consulatus pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi
 “ eo honori, non prædæ, habeant. Servi ære parati injusta imperia
 “ dominorum non perferunt: vos Quirites, imperio nati, æquo ani-
 “ mo servitutem toleratis? At, qui sunt hi, qui remp. occupavere?
 “ homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, nocen-
 “ tissimi, idemque superbissimi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, po-
 “ stemò honesta, atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum,
 “ occidisse tribunos pl. alii quæstiones injustas, plerique cædem in
 “ vos fecisse, pro munimento habent: ita, quàm quisque pessumè
 “ fecit, tam maxumè tutus est: metum à scelere suo ad ignaviam
 “ vestram transfulere: quos omnis, eadem cupere, eadem odisse,
 “ eadem metuere in unum coëgit. Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia,
 “ inter malos factio est.

35. “ Quod si vos tam libertatis curam haberetis, quàm illi ad
 “ dominationem accensi sunt: profectò neque resp. sicuti nunc, va-
 “ staretur; & beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos, fo-
 “ rent. Majores vestri parandi juris, & majestatis constituendæ gra-
 “ tiâ, bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro li-
 “ bertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summâ ope nitemini? at-
 “ que eò vehementiùs, quò majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quàm
 “ omnino non paravisse: Dicet aliquis, quid igitur censes? vindican-
 “ dum

“ by violence nor arms ; for such a proceeding would be unworthy
 “ you, tho’ they had ever so much merited it ; but by just en-
 “ quiries, and the evidence of Jugurtha himself ; who, if he has
 “ really surrendered, will be obedient to your commands. But if
 “ he don’t regard them, then you may be capable of judging, what
 “ sort of a peace or surrender it is by which Jugurtha is to have im-
 “ puny for his crimes, a few principal persons to amass riches, and
 “ the state to acquire nothing, but disadvantages and disgrace. Unless
 “ their tyranny, as yet don’t oppress you, and the constitution by
 “ which kingdoms, provinces, laws, courts of judicature, war, and
 “ peace ; in fine, all things human and divine are in the hands of a
 “ few, was most agreeable to you. When, at the same time, Ro-
 “ mans, you, unconquer’d and lords of the universe, were merely
 “ satisfied with life ; for who amongst you all durst refuse servitude ?
 “ And though I think it an irretrievable disgrace for a person to receive
 “ injuries, without punishing the author of them ; yet I could be
 “ satisfied that you should forgive those vile rascals, because they are
 “ your fellow-citizens, if the clemency you shew’d them would not
 “ terminate in your own ruin.

36. “ For your pardoning past injuries will signify nothing, since
 “ they have such a passionate desire for treating others with abuse,
 “ unless they are deprived of the power of doing hurt ; and you must
 “ live in perpetual apprehensions, when you find yourselves necessi-
 “ tated to be enslaved, or to defend your liberty by open violence.
 “ For what prospect is there of our preserving faith and unity ? They
 “ would govern you, and you would be free ; they would injure
 “ you, and you would prevent them ; in fine, they use your allies
 “ as enemies, your enemies as allies. Can any friendship or peace
 “ subsist betwixt persons of such opposite characters ? Wherefore I
 “ admonish and intreat you, not to suffer such ill usage without re-
 “ senting it. It is not the pillaging the treasury, which is now your
 “ concern, nor the unlawfully robbing the allies of their money ;
 “ which things, though they are really vile, yet as they are now cu-
 “ stomary, are little regarded. The authority of the senate and our em-
 “ pire have been surrendered to your most inveterate enemies, and the
 “ republic sold at home and abroad ; into which, unless enquiries be
 “ made, and the guilty punished, what will remain for us, but
 “ to

“ dum in eos qui hosti prodidere remp. non manu, neque vi ; quod
 “ magis, vos fecisse, quàm illis accidisse, indignum est : verùm quæ-
 “ stionibus, & indicio ipsius Jugurthæ. Qui si dedititius est ; pro-
 “ fectò jussis vestris obediens erit : sin ea contemnit, scilicet æstima-
 “ bitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio sit, ex quâ ad Jugurtham scele-
 “ rum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumæ divitiæ, in rempub.
 “ damna, atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi fortè nondum etiam
 “ vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet : & illa, quàm hæc tempora,
 “ magis placent, cùm regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella at-
 “ que paces, postremò divina & humana omnia penes paucos erant :
 “ vos autem, hoc est, P. R. invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omni-
 “ um gentium fatis habebatis animam retinere. Nam servitutem
 “ quidem quis vestrùm audebat recusare ? Atque ego tametsi
 “ flagitiosissimum existumo impunè injuriam accepisse ; tamen, vos
 “ hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo ani-
 “ mo paterer, nî misericordia in perniciem casura esset.

36. “ NAM & illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est im-
 “ punè malè fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur, & vobis
 “ æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cùm intelligetis aut serviundum esse,
 “ aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut con-
 “ cordiæ quæ spes est ? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse : facere
 “ illi injurias, vos prohibere : postremò sociis vestris veluti hostibus,
 “ hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potéstne in tam diversis mentibus pax,
 “ aut amicitia esse ? Quare moneo, hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus
 “ impunitum dimittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est : neque
 “ per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ : quæ quanquam gravia sunt, tamen
 “ consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita fe-
 “ nati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum : domi militiaeque
 “ resp.

“ to live tamely subject to those wretches? For to take any unjust mea-
 “ sures unpunished, is in reality to be the king. Nor do I desire, Ro-
 “ mans, that you should wish to find the conduct of your citizens faulty,
 “ rather than just; but not to forgive the wicked to detriment the
 “ honourable. Moreover, it is much more preferable, in the admi-
 “ nistration, to forget a favour than an injury. The well-disposed
 “ person only falters the more when overlook’d, but the wicked
 “ becomes more daring. Besides, if no injuries are committed a-
 “ gainst the state, you are seldom destitute of assistance.”

37. By oft representing those things to the people, he persuades them to send L. Cassius, who was the prætor, to Jugurtha, and promising him the public faith, to bring him to Rome, that they might the more easily, by his evidence, discover the vile proings of Scaurus, and the rest who were accused of bribery. During these transactions at Rome, they to whom the command of the army was consigned by Bestia, following the example of their general, acted in an unworthy manner: some being bribed, restored the elephants to Jugurtha; others disposed of the deserters; others again plundered the country with whom we were at peace; so prevalent was avarice, which, like an infection, inflamed their souls. But the prætor Cassius, after the bill offered by Memmius passed, which raised great apprehensions amongst the noblesse, goes to Jugurtha, and advises him, affected with the utmost fear, and full of diffidence with his present situation, which proceeded from a sense of guilt; since he had surrendered himself to the Roman people, not to experience the effects of their power, rather than their clemency. Moreover, he privately promised his own faith, which was valued by the other no less than the public honour; so distinguished a character Cassius then bore.

38. WHEREFORE Jugurtha, acting in a manner inconsistent with the majesty of a king, comes to Rome, attended with a very mean equipage. And tho’ he was quite hearty in this affair, being inspired with new ardour by those persons, whose interest and villany had vindicated him in his abovementioned conduct; yet he engages C. Bæbius, the tribune of the people, by a great bribe, to defend him with his undaunted conduct, against the justice of the laws and all injuries. An
 assembly

“ resp. venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsitæ erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios
 “ quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus?
 “ Nam impunè quælibet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego vos,
 “ Quirites, hortor, uti jam malitis civis vestros perperam, quàm
 “ rectè, fecisse : sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis.
 “ Ad hoc, in rep. multò præstat, beneficii, quàm maleficii, imme-
 “ morem esse. Bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas : at malus
 “ improbior. Ad hoc, si injuria non sint, haud sæpe auxilii egeas.”

37. HÆC, atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo, C. Memmius populo Rom. persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur : eumque, interpositâ fide publicâ, Romam duceret, quò faciliùs indicio regis, Scauri, & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcessiebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidiâ relictæ ab Bestiâ exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima, & flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthæ traderent ; alii perfugas venderent : pars ex pacatis prædas agebant. Tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius prætor, perlatâ rogatione à C. Memmio, ac percussâ omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur : eique timido, & ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, quoniam se populo R. dedidisset, ne vim, quàm misericordiam ejus, experiri malit : privatim præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quàm publicam ducebat. Talis eâ tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

38. IGITUR Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quàm maxumè miserabili cum Cassio, Romam venit. At tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentiâ aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ suprà memoravimus, C. Babium tribunum pleb. magnâ

assembly being convened by C. Memmius; tho' the commons were averse to the conduct of the king, and some ordered him to be cast into prison, and others that capital punishment should be inflicted on him as was usual; unless he would discover the persons associates in his villanies. Yet Memmius, regarding the preservation of dignity more than the impulse of passion, soothed the disturbances, and quieted their minds; declaring, in fine, that the public faith should always remain unviolated by him. When the hurry was appeased, and Jugurtha introduced into the assembly, he made a speech, and enumerated all his criminal practices at Rome and in Numidia; he represented to him his vile conduct towards his father and brother; that tho' the Romans were highly sensible who had assisted and supported him in his designs, yet they desired to be further informed of the same by him; which information, if he made in a true and authentic manner, he might assure himself of the honour and lenity of the Romans; but if he made no genuine discovery, that it would lessen the credit of his friends, entirely ruin himself, and disconcert all his measures. After Memmius had ended his speech, and Jugurtha was ordered to answer it, C. Bæbius, the tribune of the people, whom, as we have before said, was bribed, bids the king be silent; and tho' the multitude there assembled, affected with the utmost displeasure, endeavoured, by their shouts and violence, and all other methods, to which their passion hurried them, to intimidate him; yet his impudence triumphed. The people, after having been thus sported with, quitted the assembly; and Jugurtha, Bestia, and the rest whom this enquiry affected, were animated.

39. THERE was, at that time, in Rome, a certain Numidian, called Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa, who, as he was of the opposite party in the dissensions betwixt the two kings, after the surrender of Cirta and murder of Atherbal, had withdrawn from Africa. This prince was persuaded by Sp. Albinus, who was in the year after Bestia, made consul with Q. Minicius Rufus, as he was a descendant of Masinissa, to exasperate the people against Jugurtha, by setting forth his crimes in a more depraved light, and alarm him with perpetual apprehensions, by soliciting the senate for the kingdom of Jugurtha: for the consul was passionately fond of carrying on the war, and had rather excite new troubles, than permit the old to vanish; since he had got the province of Numidia, and Minucius Macedonia. After Massiva begun to apply himself in this affair, Jugurtha,

mercede parat, cujus impudentiâ contra jus, & injurias omnis munitus foret. Ac C. Memmius advocatâ concione, quamquàm regi infesta plebes erat, & pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, nî socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati magis, quàm iræ consulens, sedare motus, & animos eorum mollire; postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurthâ, verba facit: Romæ, Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat; scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: quibus juvantibus, quibûsque ministris ea egerit, quanquam intelligat populus R. tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si verum aperiatur, in fide, & clementiâ populi R. magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non fociis saluti fore, sed se suâsque spes corrupturum. Dein, ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, & Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius tribunus pleb. quem pecuniâ corruptum suprâ diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac, tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat; vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus, ludibrio habitus, ex concione discedit: Jugurthæ Bestiæque, & cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augefcunt.

39. ERAT eâ tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Guluffæ filius, Masinissæ nepos: qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, deditâ Cirtâ, & Atherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africâ abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidiâ cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi, moveri, quàm senescere, omnia malebat. Ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia venerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare

tha, unable to support himself by the interest of his friends, because some were daunted thro' a sense of guilt, others by the vile character they labour'd under, and their apprehensions, commands Bomilcar, his relation and confident, to engage some persons, by his money, which had effected many things, to assassinate Maffiva privately; and if that was impracticable, to take him off in any manner. Bomilcar soon executes the orders of the king, and by men, artists in such projects, attends his proceedings, and the places where he used to go to; and when an opportunity offered, he laid a stratagem. Upon this one of the ruffians concerned in the plot, attacks Maffiva, and kills him; but so imprudently, that he was apprehended; and at the solicitation of many persons, but more particularly of the consul, he made a full discovery. Upon this Bomilcar was accused, rather conformable to the laws of nature, than to those of nations, as being one of the attendants of the king, who, upon the honour of the public, had come to the city. But though it was evident, that Jugurtha was conscious of so vile an action, yet he did not cease using his endeavours to efface the truth, till he was sensible, that the odium of the crime, was out of the power of his interest and bribes to attenuate; and seeing this, tho' he had given in the first action, fifty of his friends, as bail for Bomilcar, regarding the preservation of his kingdom, more than his bail, he sends Bomilcar away privately into Numidia, being apprehensive lest his other subjects should be deterred from obeying him, if punishment should be inflicted on him; and he himself went a few days after, being ordered by the senate to quit Italy. They say, that when he went out of Rome, he oft looked back, tho' silent, till at last he said that the city was saleable, and would soon perish, had it only a purchaser.

40. IN the mean time Albinus, on the revival of the war, hastens to transport money, provisions, and other things necessary for his troops, into Africa; and went immediately, that he might, by mere dint of arms, the surrender of the king, or any other method, terminate the war before the election of new consuls, which was now very near. But Jugurtha, on the contrary, protracted the time, and invented different methods for it: he promised to surrender, then pretended apprehensions of ill treatment; upon the consul's attacking him, he fled; and soon after, that he might not daunt his troops, he charged him vigorously. Thus by pretending war, then peace, did he delude

cœpit ; neque Jugurthæ in amicis satîs præsidii est, quòd eorum ali-
um conscientia, alium mala fama, & timor animi impediēbat : Bomil-
cari proximo, ac maxumè fido sibi, imperat, pretio, sicuti multa con-
fecerat, infidiatores Massivæ paret : ac maxumè occulté. Sin id pa-
rùm procedat ; quovis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar maturè
regis mandata exsequitur ; & per homines, talis negotii artifices, iti-
nera, egressusque ejus, postremò loca, atque tempora cuncta explorat ;
dein, ubi res postulabat, infidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero,
qui ad cædem parati erant, paulò inconsultiùs Massivam aggreditur,
illum obtruncat : sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, & in pri-
mis Albino consule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bo-
nòque, quàm ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide
publicâ venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non priùs
omisit contra verum niti, quàm animadvortit, super gratiam, atque
pecuniam suam, invidiam facti esse. Igitur quamquàm in priore
actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat ; regno magis, quàm
vadibus consulens, elàm in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus,
ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplici-
um sumtum foret : & ipse paucis diebus eòdem profectus est, jussus à
senatu Italiâ decedere. Sed postquam Româ egressus est, fertur, sæ-
pe tacitus eò respiciens, postremò dixisse, Urbem venalem, & matu-
rè perituram, si emptorem invenerit.

40. INTERIM Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium,
aliâque, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare ; ac sta-
tim ipse profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus haud longè aberat,
armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At con-
trà Jugurtha trahere omnia, & alias, deinde alias moræ causas
facere ; polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare : instanti
cedere, & paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare : ita belli modò,
modò

delude the consul. Some were induced to believe, that Albinus was not unacquainted with the king's intentions; and that the war was, after such hasty preparations, deferred with design, not through indolence.

41. BUT the time being now expired, and the *Dies Comitiorum* approaching, Albinus having consigned the command to his brother, who was proprætor, embarked for Rome. At that time the city was torn by tribunician commotions. P. Lucullus and L. Annius, the tribunes of the people, endeavoured to continue their command, tho' the colleagues vigorously opposed them, which contention deferred the election of all other magistrates. Upon this Aulus the proprætor, who, we have before observed, was left in the camp, conceived great hopes of either terminating the war, or of gaining money from the king, by the terror of his troops, and led his troops, in the month of January, from their winter-quarters, on an expedition; and by long marches, in inclement weather, he arrived at Suthul, the treasury of the king: which, tho' they were incapable of taking, or besieging, upon account of the severity of the season, and the situation of the place; for the great winter-rains, upon the moist soil, had formed a large marsh round the wall, which was situated on the top of a rugged mountain. Yet, either under pretence of besieging the town, that he might intimidate the king, or infatuated with a fond desire of making himself master of the spoil, he built vineæ, formed a rampart, and all other things necessary for such an undertaking.

42. BUT Jugurtha, being sensible of the madness and ignorance of the lieutenant, formed schemes to increase his fury. He oft deputed persons with messages, couched in very suppliant terms; and he himself, under pretence of flying before him, led his army through forests and narrow defiles; and, in fine, induced Aulus, with the hopes of an excellent prize, to raise the siege of Suthul, and to follow him through an unknown part of the country, as if he fled before him, but really to keep their vile proceedings secret. In the mean time, he was, by his artful agents, continually trying the inclinations of the army; he induced by his bribes, some centurions and captains of horse to desert the army; and others to leave their stations, at the signal being given. After he had compleated every thing according to his desire, he, unthought of, surrounds Aulus's camp at midnight, with

modò pacis morâ consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existumarent : neque ex tantâ properantiâ tam facilè tractum bellum fœcundiâ magis, quàm dolo crederent.

41. SED postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabant, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris proprætore relicto, Romam decessit. Eâ tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter resp. agitabatur. P. Lucullus, & L. Annius, tribuni pleb. resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur : quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Eâ morâ in spem adductus Aulus, quem proprætorem in castris relicto supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli, aut terrore exercitûs ab rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hybernis in expeditionem evocat ; magnisque itineribus hyeme asperâ pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquàm, & fœvitiâ temporis, & opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat ; (nam circum murum situm in prærupti montis extremo planities limosa hyemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen, aut simulandi gratiâ, quò regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere ; aliâque, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

42. AT Jugurtha, cognitâ vanitate atque imperitiâ legati, subdolis ejus augere amentiam : missitare supplicantis legatos : ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca, & tramites exercitum dūctare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur : ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos diu noctūque exercitum tentabat : centuriones, ducēsque turmarum partim, uti transfugerent, corrumpere ; alii, signo dato, locum uti defererent. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruxit ; intempestâ nocte de improvviso multitudine Numida-

rum

with a considerable number of Numidians. The Roman soldiers were amazed at this uncommon disturbance, some run to their arms, others concealed themselves, some animated those which were intimidated, all were in the utmost confusion; every place was crowded with their enemies; the night dark and heavy; certain danger appeared every where; in fine, they were doubtful whether a continuance in the camp, or flying from it, would be most proper for their security. But amongst the number of those, as I have just observ'd, who were bribed, a regiment of Ligurians, with two troops of Thracians, and a few private centinels, deserted to the king; and a centurion of the first quality, to the third legion, admitted the enemy on that quarter of the rampart which he was placed to defend, and in that place all the Numidians rushed in. Our soldiers, by an inglorious flight, having most of them cast away their arms, took possession of an adjacent mountain. But night, and the spoils which the camp afforded, prevented the enemy from reaping any benefit from the victory. Jugurtha, on the day following, at an interview with Aulus, represented, that tho' he had him and his army, oppressed both with famine and an enemy, at his disposal; yet, as he was sensible of the inconstancy of human concerns, that if he would negotiate an accommodation with him, his men should be dismissed unhurt, first passing under the yoke; and moreover, that he should quit his kingdom in ten days; which conditions, though they were inglorious and shameful, yet as the apprehensions of death forced them to a compliance; a peace was therefore concluded, on the terms proposed by the king.

43. WHEN the people at Rome were acquainted with these proceedings, the city was in the utmost consternation and sorrow; some deplored the glory of the empire; others, quite ignorant of the art of war, apprehended their liberty was endangered. Every person was very much incensed against Aulus; but more particularly those, who, by their behaviour in war, had frequently attained honour, that he, furnished with arms, should secure himself by an inglorious compliance, without attempting any thing. The consul upon this, fearing lest he, by the proceedings of his brother, should incur the displeasure of the people, and be exposed to danger, convened the senate, to be informed of their pleasure concerning the late treaty; and yet, in the mean time, levied new troops to recruit his army, demanded auxiliaries of the allies and the Latins; and, in fine, hastened all necessary

rum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, perculsi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii; alii se abdere: pars terribos confirmare: trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium: cœlum nocte, atque nubibus obscuratum: periculum anceps: postremò fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paulò antè corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, & paucis gregariis militibus, transire ad regem, & centurio primipili tertiæ legionis per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri fœdâ fugâ, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox, atque præda castrorum, hostis, quò minùs victoriâ uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame ferròque clausum tenet, tamen se memorem rerum humanarum, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumis omnis sub jugum missurum; præterea, uti diebus decem Numidiâ decederet. Quæ gravia quamquàm, & flagitii plena erant: tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur; sicuti regi lubuerat, pax convenit.

43. SED ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt; metus atque mœror civitatem invadere: pars dolere pro gloriâ imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxumè qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant, quòd armatus dedecore potiùs, quàm manu, salutem quæfiverit. Ob ea consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat: & tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere; ab fociis & nomine Latino auxilia accersere; denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus

cessary preparations. The senate, as it was most advisable, decreed, that no accommodation could be negotiated, without the consent of them and the people. But the consul, being prevented by the tribunes of the people from transporting those recruits he had levied, goes over to Africa in a few days. For the army, as it was agreed by the late treaty, having quitted Numidia, had entered into winter-quarters in the province. When he came to the army, though he eagerly desired to pursue Jugurtha, and to obliterate the shame with which, thro' the proceedings of his brother, he was branded, yet being sensible, after reviewing his troops, in what situation they were, occasioned not only by their late defeat, but by their contempt of power, licentiousness and wantonness, he determined to decline acting.

44. IN the mean time C. Mamilius Limetanus, a tribune of the commonalty, moved to the people, that commissioners be delegated to examine into the conduct of those persons, at whose instigations Jugurtha had treated with abuse the decrees of the senate; and to try those ambassadors or generals who had accepted largesses from the king, those who had surrendered him his elephants and deserters; the formers of any contract with the enemy, either concerning peace or war. Those who were conscious of misconduct, and others who apprehended they should incur the displeasure of their party, declined opposing this bill publicly; but appeared quite satisfied with this, and other proceedings of the same nature; yet, by fraudulent methods, endeavoured to prevent its being received, by the interest of their friends, but more particularly those of Latium, and the other allies of Italy. But the people were incredibly desirous of the bills passing, and the heat with which they passed it was surprizing, more through a distaste against the noblesse, who were the chief object of its aim, than through a regard for the interest of the state, so rapid was the torrent of party-zeal at that time. Wherefore M. Scaurus, who, as I have before observ'd, was a lieutenant of Bestia's, whilst the other persons were intimidated, did, amidst the great rejoicings of the people, the flight of his friends, and the confusion of the city, get himself nominated one of the three commissioners, delegated by Mamilius's bill. But the enquiry was carried on with great strictness, according to the tradition of the vulgar, and their inclination, they being fired with insolence, as had been oft the case before of the noblesse.

ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul impeditus à tribunis pl. ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur. Nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidiâ deductus in provinciâ hyemabat. Postquam eò venit, (quamquam persequi Jugurtham, & mederi fraternæ invidiæ animo ardebat;) cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia, atque lascivia corruperat, ex copiâ rerum statuit, sibi nihil agitandum.

44. Interea Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus Tr. pleb. rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item, qui de pace, aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidiâ pericula metuentes, quoniam apertè resistere non poterant, quin illa, & alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occultè per amicos, ac maxumè per homines nominis Latini, & socios Italicos, impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quantum intenta fuerit, quantâque vi rogationem jufferit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam curâ reip. tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, cæteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ fuisse suprâ memoravimus, inter lætitiâ plebis, & suorum fugam, trepidâ etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamilianâ rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat, ut ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed, quæstione exercitâ asperè violentèrque, ex rumore & lubidine plebis, uti sæpe nobilitatem, sic eâ tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

45. THE party-zeal which, at this time, so inflamed the commonalty and senate, and the other destructive consequences, were but of short standing in Rome; and indolence and affluence, which men are induced to prefer before any thing existing, were their parents: for the commons and senate of Rome, conducted their concerns with the greatest unanimity and moderation, before the subversion of Carthage; nor did they in the least struggle for glory or command: for the apprehensions of an invasion preserved the strictness of discipline in the city. But when those apprehensions disappeared, lasciviousness and haughtiness, the companions of prosperity, scaled the minds of the citizens; so that their hopes of peace, in adversity, no sooner succeeded, but terrible consequences ensued; and their situation was attended with more difficulties than the former: for the noblesse and commons converted their authority and liberty into licentiousness; every one practised rapine, used violence, exercised an arbitrary sway. Thus was the state separated into two factions, which severely rack'd it. But the party of the noblesse was prevalent; the faction of the commonalty was more independent and loose, as they were so numerous. Upon a victory gained by the noblesse, the administration of all concerns, whether relating to peace and war, was engrossed by a few. They invested persons, at their pleasure, with glory, offices civil and military, voted the provinces, and disposed of the treasures and triumphs. Service and indigence crushed the people. The commanders, with some few persons, possessed themselves of the plunder taken in war. The parents, in the mean time, or young children of the soldiers, as they lived near to the noblesse, were dispossessed of their fortunes; so that avarice, acting in concert with power, attacked, confounded, and ravaged every thing, not regarding moderation or decency, till it hurled itself into an abyss of difficulties. For when they found any of the noblesse, who preferred intrinsic glory to unequitable command, the city was distracted and confused, that one would have thought the earth had been unhinged.

46. FOR when T. and C. Gracchus, whose ancestors had conducted themselves with uncommon resolution in the Punic and other wars, by which they benefited the state, begun to maintain the rights of the people, and uncloath the villany of the noblesse. They conscious, and consequently alarm'd with great apprehensions, at one time by the allies of Latium, at another time by the Roman knights, whom

45. CÆTERUM mos partium popularium, & senatûs factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis, antè annis Romæ ortus est, otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam, populus, & senatus Rom. placidè modestèque inter se rempub. tractabant : neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat : metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia, atque superbia, incessere. Ita quod in advorsis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius, acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere, sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas parteis abstracta sunt ; resp. quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Cæterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat : plebis vis soluta, atque dispersa, in multitudine minùs poterat. Paucorum arbitrio belli domique resp. agitabatur : penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ, triumphique erant : populus militiâ atque inopiâ urgebatur ; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant, Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur, Ita cum potentiâ avaritia finè modo modestiâque invadere, polluere, & vastare omnia, nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primùm ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiæ antepone-
rent, moveri civitas, & dissensio civilis, quasi permixtio terræ, oriri cœpit.

46. NAM postquam Tiberius, & C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico, atque aliis bellis multum reipub. addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, & paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere : nobilitas noxia, atque eò perculsa, modò per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum

whom the hopes of partaking of the spoil had brought over to their interest, endeavoured to obviate their proceedings; and killed Tiberius, then a little after Caius, vindicating the same cause. The one when a tribune of the commons, and the other when a commissioner for the settling of colonies. M. Fulvius Flaccus was also murdered by them. And the Gracchi being too desirous of gaining their ends, were hot to excess. But yet a defeat in any cause is judged, by an honourable man, preferable to a victory gained by criminal practices. Wherefore the success of this contention rendered the noblesse insolent, and accordingly they killed and banished a considerable number of the commonalty; and enhanced their terror, not their power; measures which have been of fatal consequences to powerful states; whilst the factions by any method desire to reduce each other, and resent the injuries they have received by distressing the conquered, But, should I expatiate on the heat of the factions, and the other pernicious practices of the state, as much as the subject will admit of, I should want time, not a subject to treat on. Wherefore to return.

47. AFTER the conclusion of the treaty of Aulus, and the shameful return of our army, Metellus and Silanus, consuls elect, divided the provinces betwixt them by lot, and Metellus had the province of Numidia, an active man, and tho' averse to the proceedings of the people, yet of a just unblemished character. He, at the entering upon his office, persuaded that all other concerns were the object of his colleagues care, as well as his, made all necessary preparations for the war, wherein he was to command. Wherefore, diffident of the resolution of the old army, he levied soldiers, sent for forces from all parts, and furnished himself with all military arms, javelins and horses, and abundance of provisions; in fine, with every thing necessary for a war, where many supplies of every nature are requisite. And to facilitate the design, the senate authorized him, the allies, the Latins, and foreign kings voluntarily furnished him with auxiliaries; and, in fine, the state with the utmost vigour supported him. Wherefore, when the preparations and regulations were made to his satisfaction, he embarks for Numidia, in whom all the Romans settled their hopes, induced to it by the qualifications he was master of, which suited the character of a general; and by the indissoluble constancy of his soul, proof against the power of gold; for the cause of our losses in Numidia, and the augmentation of the enemy's power, was nothing but the avarice of our generals.

terdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis à plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat : & primò Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, Tribun. pl. alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et fanè Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis animus moderatus fuit. Sed bono vinci fatius est, quàm malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur eâ victoriâ nobilitas ex lubricine suâ usa, mortalis multos ferro aut fugâ exstinxit ; plûsque in reliquum sibi timoris, quàm potentiæ, addidit : quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, & victos acerbiùs ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium, & omnibus civitatis moribus, si singillatim, aut pro magnitudine parem differere, tempus, quàm res, maturiùs deferet. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

47. Post Auli fœdus, exercitûsque nostri fœdam fugam, Metellus, & Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant : Metellusque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, & quamquàm adverso populi partibus, famâ tamen æquabili, & inviolatâ. Is ubi primùm magistratum ingressus est ; alia omnia sibi cum collegâ communia ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, præsidia undique accersere : arma, tela, equos, & cætera instrumenta militiæ parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim, denique omnia, quæ in bello vario, & rerum multarum egenti, usui esse solent. Cæterùm ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, socii, noménque Latinum, & reges ultro auxilia mittendo, postremò omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque ex sententiâ omnibus rebus paratis, compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magnâ spe civium, cum propter artis bonas, tum maxumè quòd advorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat : & avaritiâ magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidiâ nostræ opes contusæ, hostiùmque auctæ erant.

48. SED

48. BUT after his arrival in Africa, the army of Sp. Albinus, the proconsul, was delivered to him, indolent, weak, incapable of labouring under any fatigue, of surmounting any danger, much better prepared with their tongues than their hands, whose practice was plundering their allies, whilst they themselves were a prey to the enemy, being ungoverned, independant. Thus the assistance he expected, or the hopes of success he entertained from the soldiers, were not equivalent to the trouble he had to quash their vicious habits. However Metellus, tho' the last election having happened late in the year, had rendered that campaign of short continuance, and tho' he was persuaded the minds of the citizens would impatiently wait for the success of this war, determined to decline acting, till, by proper discipline, he had enabled them to support labours. For Albinus being intimidated by the late defeat, and on that consideration determining to continue in the province, retained the soldiers, during the summer season, that being the time of his command, in standing camps, till the bad smell, or want of forage, necessitated him to quit them. Nor was there any upon duty, as is customary, for every one might at his pleasure quit his station. The servants, associating with the soldiers, wandered about night and day, and ravaged the lands, carried gentlemen's seats, sword in hand; seized cattle and slaves, and sold them to the merchants, who sent them wine in exchange, and other necessities of the same nature. Moreover, they disposed of the corn allowed them by the state, and purchased bread every day. In fine, all the most prejudicial consequences of luxury and indolence, which man is capable of instancing or imagining, were to be found in this army, and many more.

49. BUT I find the conduct of Metellus no less laudable in this intricate affair, than in an engagement; so cautious was he in attaching the troops to his interest, that he never swerv'd from the medium, to be observed betwixt cringing and cruelty. For he, in the first place, by an edict disbanded all the supports of indolence. The edict was this, that none should sell bread or dressed provisions in the camp; that no sutlers should follow the troops; that no private centinel should have a servant or a mule, in the camp or on a march. He also observed a decorum with regard to other things. Moreover, by cross marches he every day moved his camp, and intrenched himself as if an enemy was near; placed proper watches, and went himself in company with his lieutenant-generals, round the camp; he

48. SED, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albinus proconsulis, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, linguâ, quàm manu, promptior, prædator ex fociis, & ipse præda hostium, finè imperio, & modestiâ habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quàm ex copiâ militum auxilii, aut bonæ spei, accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, (quamquàm & æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, & expectatione eventui civium animos intentos putabat) non priùs bellum attingere, quàm majorem disciplinâ milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris, exercitusque clade perculsus, postquàm decreverat non egredi provinciâ, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites in stativis castris habebat: nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliæ ducebantur. Utî cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permisti cum militibus, diu noctûque vagabantur: & palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris, & mancipiorum prædas certantes agere: eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino adventitio, & aliis talibus: præterea, frumentum publicè datum vendere, panem in dies mercati: postremò, quæcumque dici, aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, & alia ampliùs.

49. SED in eâ difficultate Metellum non minùs, quàm in rebus hostilibus, magnum, & sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tantâ temperantiâ inter ambitionem, sævitiâque moderatum. Namque edicto primo adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, néve in agmine servum, aut jumentum haberet. Cæteris arte modum statuisse: præterea, transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere: juxtâ, ac si hostes adessent,

Y

vallo,

would on a march one while command in the van, now in the rear, oft in the center, to prevent any one's quitting his post; and to see that they marched under their proper colours, and carried their own arms and provisions. Thus, by obliging them rather to observe his orders, than by punishing them for male practices, he implanted vigour and resolution in the army.

50. DURING this, Jugurtha receiving intelligence of the conduct of Metellus, and being acquainted at Rome with his probity, he was diffident of success in the war, and really desirous of surrendering himself: Upon which he deputed ambassadors to the consul, with many intreaties, desiring him only to spare his life, and that of his children, urging, that as to other concerns, what was their pleasure was his. Metellus had before experienced the inconstancy and infidelity of the Numidians, who were fond of innovations. He therefore separately tries the deputies; and when, by sounding them, he was convinced of their real inclinations, he induced them, by great promises, to deliver up Jugurtha alive, if that could not be effected, dead; but publickly orders them to acquaint the king with what he desires. He then marched, a few days after, with his army, bent upon action, into Numidia, where every thing contradicted the thoughts of a war; the cottages were full of people, the cattle were grazing, and the husbandmen cultivating their lands. The governors also of the towns and villages advanced to meet him, prepared to supply him with corn and other necessaries; and, in fine, to obey all his orders. But nevertheless Metellus marched in order of battle, as if the enemy was near them, deputed spies every where, and imagined those expressions of submission were only a design to ensnare him. Upon this he marched in the vanguard with a choice body of light-arm'd troops, slingers and bowmen. His lieutenant-general commanded in the rear, with the cavalry; and the auxiliary cavalry formed the wings, commanded by the Tribunes and captains of the cohorts, among whom were placed some of his light-armed infantry; that these being joined with the dragoons, might repulse the enemies cavalry, wherever they should attack them. For Jugurtha was so artful, so well

vallo, atque fossâ munire : vigilias crebras ponere, & eas ipse cum legatis circuire : item in agmine in primis modò, modò in postremis, sæpe in medio adeste, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur : uti, cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum, & arma portaret. Ita prohibendo à delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevè confirmavit.

50. INTEREA Jugurtha ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit ; simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi, liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Rom. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat, genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos aggreditur : ac paulatim tentando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, uti Jugurtham maxumè vivum, sin id parùm procedat, necatum sibi traderent : ceterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Dein ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit : ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora, cultoresque in agris erant : ex oppidis, & mapalibus, præfecti regis obviam procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremò omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minùs, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, latè explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, & infidiis locum tentare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum & sagittariorum delectâ manu apud primos erat : in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat : in utrumque latus equites auxilios tribunis legionum, & præfectis cohortium dispertiverat : uti cum his per-

well acquainted with the places, and the art of war, that it was difficult to determine, whether his presence or absence was most detrimental, or whether in peace or war he was most prejudicial.

51. THERE was a town called Vacca, belonging to the Numidians, not far distant from the way he marched, the most considerable place for commerce in the whole kingdom, where many Italians had settled to trade. This Metellus garrisoned, with a design to found the minds of the people, and for the advantages of the place; and moreover demanded a supply of corn, and other necessaries for the subsistence of his army, persuading himself, as this circumstance encouraged such a thought, that the great number of merchants settled there would be proper persons to furnish him with provisions, and pillars to his conquests. During this Jugurtha sent frequent messengers to solicit a peace, in the most suppliant terms, submitting every thing to Metellus, but desiring him to spare his own life and that of his children; which messengers the consul engaged in the same manner, as he did the first, namely, to surrender their master, nor did he refuse or promise the peace which the king solicited, in the mean time expecting the issue of the promises made him by the deputies.

52. JUGURTHA having compared the words of Metellus with his proceedings, and found them not in the least consonant with each other, was sensible he was encompassed with the artful designs he himself had before carried on; for tho' the answers of Metellus seemed to give him hopes of a peace, yet he was engaged in a brisk war, the most considerable city in his kingdom was in the hands of the enemy, the Romans were well acquainted with the country, the minds of his subjects alienated from their sovereign, he therefore determined to give Metellus battle. Pursuant to this resolution, having been informed of the rout of the enemy, and entertaining hopes of success from the advantage of their situation, levies as many troops as possible, both cavalry and infantry; and by private defiles out-marches the army of the consul. Now there was, in that division which was assigned to Atherbal, a river called Muthul, whose current runs North; about twenty miles from this there was a mountain upon a level with the river, a waste tract of land, and uncultivated, in the middle of which was a very high hill, appalled in wild olive-

mixti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurthâ tantus dolus, tantâque peritia locorum, & militiæ erat, ut, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

51. ERAT haud longè ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxumè celebratum; ubi & incolere, & mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratiâ, &, si paterentur opportunitates loci, præsidium imposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum, & alia, quæ bello usui forent, comportare: ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum & commeatum iuventurum exercitum, & jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensius modò legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, præter suam, liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad prodicionem domum mittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, & inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.

52. Jugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac suis se artibus tentari animadvertit; (quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, cæterùm re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentari) coactus rerum necessitudine, statui armis certare. Igitur, explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus ex opportunitate loci, quàm maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in eâ parte Numidiæ, quam Atherbal in divisione possederat, flumen, oriens à meridie nomine Muthul; à quo aberat mons fermè millia passuum xx. tractu pari, vastus ab naturâ, & humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens,

olive-trees, myrtles, and other trees of the same nature, to which a dry sandy soil gives birth. But the place betwixt the mountain and the river was uninhabited, through want of water, excepting those places near which the river ran. For those were thick planted with low trees, and crouded with cattle and inhabitants.

53. WHEREFORE in this hill, which, as we have before observ'd, lay across the march of Metellus, Jugurtha encamped, having far extended his front. Bomilcar was appointed commander of the elephants, and part of the infantry, and instructions given him how to act. Jugurtha posted himself, with all the cavalry, and the best battalions of foot, nearer the hill; and then riding about the troops and companies, animates and intreats them to retain the memory of their former resolution and success in their minds, and to maintain their rights and his empire from the usurping avarice of the Roman; representing that those were now the enemies they must engage, who, having been before defeated, were necessitated by them to pass under the yoke; that their commander was indeed of an opposite character, but that their resolution was no way enhanced; that he had made the necessary preparations, which it was incumbent on him as a general to make; that they had the advantage in point of situation, were to engage with men not in the least cautious; that their number exceeded that of their enemies, and that none of the Romans were better versed in the knowledge of military affairs than they; that they should therefore be ready, when the signal was given, to attack the Romans; for that day would either secure them their present conquests, and restore tranquility, or be the time when their calamitous state would commence. Moreover, he animated those singly, whom for their resolution in war he had enriched or honoured, reminded them of the favours he had conferred upon them, and shewed them to the army; in fine, he, by different methods, fired the army with resolution, promised one, menaced some, intreated another. During which, Metellus quite ignorant of the measures taken by the enemy, was seen coming down the hill with his army; and he, at first, was uncertain what this uncommon appearance was, (for the Numidian cavalry was amongst the brushwood, not entirely concealed, since the trees were but low, nor yet could a person clearly discern what they were, themselves and their colours being covered, as well by the natural situation of the place, as by their artful practices) but being quickly sensible of the
ambuscade

pertinens, vestitus oleastro, ac myrtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido, atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquæ, præter flumini propinqua loca. Ea confita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

53. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha extenuatâ suorum acie confedit : elephantis, & parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit : eumque edocet, quæ ageret : ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu, & peditibus delectis suos collocat : dein singulas turmas, & manipulos circumiens monet, atque obtestatur, uti memores pristinae virtutis, & victoriæ, sese, regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritiâ defendant : cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint : ducem illis, non animum, mutatum : quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa ; locum superiorem ; uti prudentes cum imperitis ; ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum confererent. Proinde parati, intentique essent, signo dato Romanos invadere : illum diem aut omnis labores, & victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecuniâ, aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, & eum ipsum aliis ostentare : postremò, pro cujusque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare : cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicabatur. Primò dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidiaëque confederant, neque planè occultati humilitate arborum, & tamen incerti quidnam esset, cum naturâ loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevì cogni-

tis

ambuscade formed by the enemy, he orders his troops to halt; and having changed their disposition, he augmented the right wing, which was, by reinforcing it with three bodies, as a corps du reserve, upon an emergency, disposes of the slingers and bowmen amongst the companies, posts all his cavalry in the wings, and animating his men by a short address, he draws them down into the plain marshalled in order of battle.

54. BUT perceiving the Numidians remain in their station, and continue upon the hill, and apprehensive of his forces being distressed by thirst, since the season was dry, and few springs were to be found in this country, he dispatched his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with a detachment of light-arm'd infantry, and some bodies of cavalry to the river, to provide a proper place for encamping, imagining that the enemy would, by repeated attacks on their wings, endeavour to make them discontinue their march for some time; and since they were diffident of success from their arms, would harass our men with difficulties and thirst. After this he gradually advanced in the same disposition, as he came down the hill, according to the nature of the place; continued Marius in the rear, and himself marched at the head of the cavalry, which formed the left wing, and which now were the vanguard. But when Jugurtha was sensible that the rear of Metellus's army had passed his van, he possesses himself of the mountain, the post which Metellus had quitted, with a body of two thousand men, that the enemy, after their defeat, might not have a place to retreat to for defence; and after seizing this, he gives the signal for battle, and attacks the Romans. Some of the Numidians fall upon the rear, others flank them, and are so warm and resolute in the engagement, that they every where break the ranks of the Romans; even those who use the greatest vigour in sustaining the efforts of the enemy, are baffled by their unsettled way of fighting; and being wounded by the frequent discharge of javelins, are unable to come to close fight. For the cavalry of Jugurtha, as he had before ordered them, whenever the Romans begin to pursue them, do not fly in one body, nor to one part, but separate as much as was in their power. Thus being superior in force to the Romans, if they could not oblige the enemy to decline the pursuit, they attack them, when divided, in the rear or flank; but if a hill seemed more to favour their flight than the plain, the Numidian horse being accustomed

tis infidiis, paulisper agmen constituit. Ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextro latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit; inter manipulos funditores, & sagittarios dispertit, equitum omnem in cornibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicut instruxerat, transvorsis principiis in planum deducit.

54. SED, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore, & inopiâ aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitum, præmiserat ad flumen, uti locum castris antè caperet; existumans hostes crebro impetu, & transvorsis præliis iter suum remoratorios, & quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem & sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re, atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere: Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, quâ Metellus descenderat, ne fortè cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidæ alii postremos cedere: pars à sinistrâ, ac dextrâ tentare: infensi adesse, atque instare; omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio ipsi modò eminus sauciabantur, neque contrâ feriendi aut conferendi manum copia erat. Antè jam docti ab Jugurthâ equites, ubicumque Romanorum turma insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius aliò quàm maxumè divorii. Ita numero priores, si à persequendo hostes detertere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugæ collis, quàm campi fuerant, eò

stomed to it, with little or no difficulty, made a passage thro' the bushes, which our horse, quite unacquainted with such intricate places, could not effect.

55. BUT there was no constancy nor certainty in the present engagement, for the appearance was terrible and calamitous. Some separated from their army fled, others continued the pursuit; nor did they fight under their own colours, or in their proper posts. Where danger menaced any one, there he stood to avert it; arms, javelins, horses, men, enemies, citizens, underwent a general confusion; conduct and command were of no service; chance was the sole guide. Now the day was near expired, when the issue of the engagement was undetermined. In fine, when the fatigue had rendered them faint, and the heat of the day sickened them, Metellus perceived the vigour and warmth of the Numidians allayed; and gradually bringing up his army into one place, he ranks them properly, and places four legionary battalions to oppose the enemy's infantry; many of whom being exceedingly harrassed, had seated themselves on rising grounds. He also beseeches and animates his men, desiring them not to slacken their resolution, nor to permit the flying enemies to have the advantage: for they had no castles or camp to retreat to; their arms were their only support. Nor did Jugurtha remain inactive; he reviewed his troops, animated them, renewed the engagement, distressed the enemy with a select body of men, replenished his ranks, vigorously attacked the enemies that were broke, and harrassed those who continued in their posts with frequent discharges of weapons.

56. THUS did these two generals, eminent for an uncommon knowledge of military affairs, rival each other in the engagement, of an equal resolution themselves, but much varying in other respects. For Metellus, if you regard the resolution of the troops, had the advantage; but was exceeded by the other in point of situation. Jugurtha, on the other hand, was infinitely superior, excepting the courage of his forces. In fine, when the Romans were sensible, that they had no other way to secure themselves, and that as the enemy stood at a distance, no opportunity presented itself for an engagement, and night expelled the day, they retreat to the hill according to their instruction. Upon this motion the Numidians quitted their posts, are defeated, put to flight, and a small number of them killed. But their principal defence was their swiftness, and the enemy's ignorance

verò consueti Numidarum equi facilè inter virgulta evadere ; nostros asperitas, & insolentia loci retinebat.

55. CÆTERUM facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda, atque miserabilis : dispersi à suis, pars cedere, alii insequi : neque signa, neque ordines observare : ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere, ac propulsare : arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti : nihil consilio, neque imperio agi : fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, cùm etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore & æstu languidis, Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minùs instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit : ordines restituit, & cohortes legionarias quatuor advorsùm pedites hostium collocat. Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessâ confederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientis vincere : neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quò cedentes tenderent : in armis omnia sita. Sed nec Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat ; circuire, hortari, renovare prælium, & ipse cum delectis tentare omnia : subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare ; quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando, retinere.

56. Eo modo duo imperatores, summi viri, inter se certabant : ipsi pares, cæterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus : Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt neque sibi profugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri ; (& jam diei vesper erat,) advorso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidæ fusi, fugatique, pauci interiire : plerosque velocitas, & regio hostibus ignara,

of the country. During this Bomilcar, appointed, as we have observed, commander of the elephants and some part of the infantry by Jugurtha, when Rutilius passed him, gradually leads his troops into the plain; and whilst the lieutenant-general hastens, as expeditiously as possible to the river, where he was detached, he properly and uninterrupted draws up his army, nor is he remiss in procuring an intelligence of the enemy's measures. When therefore he was informed of Rutilius's encamping, and unaffected with apprehensions of an enemy, and sensible also how the shout where Jugurtha was engaged sensibly increased, he, apprehensive of Rutilius's falling out to support his citizens in their distress, when he should be acquainted with their situation, considerably extends the front of his army, which he had before closely drawn up, being diffident of their resolution, to oppose his endeavours; and in that order advances to the place where Rutilius was encamped.

57. THE Romans perceived a considerable quantity of dust raised on a sudden, for as the country was crouded with shrubs, it prevented them having an extensive view; and at first imagined it was the wind which blew vehemently on the sandy plain; but when they were sensible of its continuance, and of its nearer approach, as the army advanced; and thro' that being acquainted with the affair, they hurry to their arms, and conforming to the instructions of their general, range themselves before the camp. Then when the enemy was far enough advanced, both armies charged each other with a loud shout. The Numidians continued acting no longer than the elephants were of any service; but when they perceived them ensnared amongst the branches of the trees, and separately surrounded by the Romans, they fly, and the most considerable part of them quitting their arms, secured themselves, a neighbouring hill and the night favouring them. Four elephants were taken, and the remaining forty killed. But the Romans, tho' they were harrassed by their march, fatigued with making intrenchments, and rendered faint by the late engagement, and elate on their success; yet as Metellus continued in the field longer than ordinary, they properly posted themselves, and advanced to meet him: for the artful practices of the Numidians would not admit of their being remiss or inactive. And when the armies were near each other, they being apprehensive of the approach of an enemy, were intimidated by the shout, for it was now dark; and the issue would have been of ill consequence, had they

tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis, & parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurthâ suprâ diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit : ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quò præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat : neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium confedissem jam, & animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus, cognitâ re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum artè statuerat, quò hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit ; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

57. ROMANI ex improvîso pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt. Nam prospectum ager arbutis confitus prohibebat. Et primò rati humum aridam vento agitari : pòst, ubi æquabilem manere, &, sicut acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident ; cognitâ re properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicut imperabatur, consistunt. Dein, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt : ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephantis quatuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani quamquam itinere, atque opere castrorum, & prælio fessi, lassique erant ; tamen, quòd Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi, intentique obviâ procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primò obscurâ nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, veluti hostes adventarent, alter

they not been informed by some horse, which the armies had dispatched for intelligence. Upon which their fear was soon followed by an uninterrupted joy; and each congratulates the other on their success, mutually expatiating on their conduct in the two late actions, and every man judges his own behaviour to be highly laudable. For such the nature of man; cowards are allowed to boast when a victory is gained; but when ill fortune attends them, even the most resolute are dejected.

58. METELLUS continued in the same camp four days; his sole care was for the recovery of the wounded, to distribute military honours, as is usual, amongst those who had evidenced an uncommon resolution; he confers encomiums on them all in an assembly, and compliments them with his thanks, desiring them always to behave in the same manner, for the remaining fatigue was trifling. Also representing that their conduct in fighting had already given them the victory, and that the rest of their fatigue would be for spoil. However he, in the mean time, dispatched some deserters, and other proper persons to inform him of the place where Jugurtha was, or of his measures; whether he had only a few attendants, or was at the head of an army; and what his conduct was after the late defeat. But he had retreated into the forests, fortified by nature; and there levied an army more numerous than the former; but composed of improper undisciplined persons; unacquainted with military exercises, and whose capacities were more adapted to cultivating the land, or watching the cattle. The cause of which is this, that none, except the body guards, follow their prince in his flight; but make their own pleasure their guide; nor does that behaviour stain their character, since it is a custom established amongst them. Metellus upon this perceiving how unaffected the soul of Jugurtha was, and that the war was renewing, in which the king was the sole counsellor, since it was impracticable for any to controul his pleasure; and being also sensible that the war could not be carried on with equal advantage on his side, since they were less prejudiced by a defeat, than he by a victory, he determined not to pursue the war by attacking the enemy in pitched battles, but in a different manner. After this resolution, he marches into the most opulent parts of Numidia, wastes the lands, possesses himself of many castles and towns, either inconsiderably fortified or ungarrisoned, and fires them; orders all the young men to be slain, and gives all other things as plunder for his men. Several

apud alteros formidinem simul, & tumultum facere : & penè imprudentiâ admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti appellant, acta edocent, atque audiunt : sua quisque fortia facta ad cœlum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent : in victoriâ vel ignavis gloriari licet : adversæ res etiam bonos detrectant.

58. METELLUS in iisdem castris quatrinduo moratus, faucios cum curâ reficit ; meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias : hortatur, ad cætera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant : pro victoriâ satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro prædâ fore. Tamen interim transfugas, & alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitare, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa, & naturâ munita receperat : ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem, infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quàm belli, cultorem. Id eâ gratiâ eveniebat, quòd præter equites regios nemo omnium Numidarum ex fugâ regem sequitur. Quò cujusque animus fert, eò discedunt : neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur : ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus, ubi videt etiam tum regis animum ferocem esse : bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non posset : præterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus : minore detrimento illos vinci, quàm suos vincere : statuit non præliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in loca Numidiæ opulentissima pergit : agros vastat : multa castella, & oppida, temere munita, aut sine præsidio, capit, incenditque : puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum prædam esse. Eâ formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obfides : frumentum,

&c.

veral people alarmed by these proceedings, gave hostages to the Romans, and supplied them with corn and other necessaries; and places were garrisoned as their affairs required. Which measures intimidated the king more than the late ill success; for he whose sole hopes were situated in declining a battle, was now necessitated to pursue; and he who was incapable of defending himself in his own territories, where he had the advantage, was obliged to carry on the war in places, with which he was unacquainted, and which favoured the designs of his enemy. However, in this delicate conjuncture, he enters upon measures which seemed most proper, he orders his troops mostly to continue in one part, and himself observes the motions of Metellus with a select body of horse; and by marching all night, and through narrow defiles, he suddenly charges the Romans which were foraging. They being most of them destitute of arms, were all killed or made prisoners, and none escaped unwounded. After this the Numidians retreat to the adjacent hills, according to their orders, before they could be relieved by the army.

59. THERE was, in the mean time, great rejoicings at Rome, when messengers came to acquaint them with Metellus's success; and when they heard his conduct, and that of the army, had in every respect resembled the resolution of their ancestors; that he had gained a victory by his conduct, in a place where the enemy had the advantage, was in possession of the enemy's dominions, and had necessitated Jugurtha, who had conceived great hopes, after his success against Aulus, to repose all his security in marching about at the head of small bodies. The senate upon this voted that public thanksgivings be given to the gods for these successes. The city which before was very much alarmed and anxious for the issue of the war, was now elate, and represented Metellus to be a man of eminent abilities. This fired Metellus with more resolution to terminate the war with success: he made all necessary preparations for it, as expeditiously as possible, yet was cautious in proceeding, on account of the designs of the enemy, considering with himself, that envy was the natural consequence of being glorious; so that the more eminent he was, the more careful he was also; nor did he, after that stratagem of Jugurtha's, permit his troops to separate for plunder. But when he was destitute of provision or forage, he dispatched all the cavalry, with some battalions of infantry, to guard them who went for those necessaries. He com-
manded

& alia, quæ usui forent, affatim præbita : ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multò magis, quàm prælium malè pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant. Quippe cujus spes omnis in fugâ sita erat, sequi cogeatur, & qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex inopiâ, quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit : exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet : ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur : nocturnis & aviis itineribus, ignoratus, Romanos palantis repentè aggredditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur : nemo omnium intactus profugit : & Numidæ, prius quàm ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

59. INTERIM Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus : uti sèque, & exercitum more majorum gereret ; in adverfo loco victor tamen virtute fuisset ; hostium agro potiretur ; Jugurtham, magnificum ex Auli socordiâ, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fugâ cõgisset habere. Itaque senatus, ob ea feliciter acta, diis immortalibus supplicia decernere : civitas trepida antea, & sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere : de Metello fama præclara esse. Igitur eò intentior ad victoriam niti : omnibus modis festinare : cavere tamen necubi hosti opportunus fieret : meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita, quò clarior, eò magis anxius erat : neque post insidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari : ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant : exercitûs partem ipse, reliquos

manded one part of the army, and Marius the other. But fire more than plundering prejudiced the country. One formed his camp at some small distance from the other; and when any considerable force was requisite, they united. But to ravage and intimidate the more, they commonly acted in different quarters. Jugurtha, at that time, followed them over the hills, attending all opportunities to attack them at advantage: wherever he was informed they intended to forage, he destroyed it, and ruined the springs, which were difficult to meet with in that country. Sometimes he appeared to Metellus, at another time to Marius, would charge their rear, then retire hastily to the hills, then again would attack them in other quarters; so that he declined an engagement, and yet harassed them, but his principal aim was to render their designs abortive.

60. WHEN the Roman general was sensible how much he was distressed by his stratagems, and that it was impracticable fairly to engage him, he determined to besiege Zama, a considerable town, and the support of the kingdom in that part of Numidia, imagining, as it was very natural to do, that Jugurtha would assist his distressed subjects, which might give birth to a battle. But he being informed of his design by deserters, arrives there by long marches before Metellus, and animates the inhabitants to maintain the town, reinforcing them with some deserters, which were the most faithful of the king's troops, since it was not in their power to deceive him. Moreover, he promises to relieve them shortly with his army. Having thus settled his concerns, he retired into the most private parts of the country; where soon after he received intelligence that Marius with some few battalions was detached to Sicca for corn, the first town which quitted his allegiance, after the late ill success. Upon this he marches thither in the night, with a select body of cavalry, and charges the Romans coming out of the gate; at the same time intreats the Siccenses, with a loud voice, to attack the rear of the battalions; representing, that fortune had presented them an opportunity of evidencing their resolution, of rendering themselves eminent, of which, if they made use, he would be invested with the sovereignty, and they enjoy their liberty and an uninterrupted tranquility. And had not Marius charged them briskly, and quitted the town with great haste, all or most of the Siccenses would have declined his interest, and espoused the king's cause; so fond of revolutions are the Numidians. But Jugurtha for some time animated his men, by which they at first sustained the efforts

Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis quàm prædâ ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longè inter se castra faciebant. Ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant : cæterum, quò fuga, atque formido latiùs cresceret, divorfi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi : tempus, aut locum pugnae quærere : quâ venturum hostem audierat, pabulum & aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere : modò se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere : postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi : rursus aliis, pòst aliis minitari : neque prælium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

60. ROMANUS imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt ; neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri ; urbem magnam, & in eâ parte, quâ sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare ; ratus id quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, à perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit : oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis : quod genus ex copiis regis, qui fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat : præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu affore. Ita compositis rebus in loca quàm maxumè occulta discedit ; ac paulò post cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum : quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eò cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, & jam egredientibus Romanis in portâ pugnam facit : simul magnâ voce Siccenses hortatur, uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant : fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare : si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate finè metu ætatem acturos. Ac nî Marius signa inferre, atque evadere oppido properavisset, profectò cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium, fidem mutavissent : Tantâ mobilitate sese Numidæ gerunt. Sed milites Jugur-

forts of the Romans. But when the enemies were vigorous in their repulses, they make off, having lost some few of their troops.

61. MARIUS arrived at Zama; the town was situated upon a level, and it was not naturally very strong, but rendered so by art. There was a great affluence of all necessaries in the place, it was furnished with a very considerable quantity of military instruments, and was populous. Metellus having therefore made all necessary preparations, invests the town with his army, and assigns to each lieutenant-general his post; and then, on a signal being given, there are great shouts made on all sides, which did not in the least intimidate the Numidians, who, undaunted, stood prepared to receive the charge of the enemy. Upon this they engage. The Romans fought according to their pleasure; some discharged stones and balls; some retired: others supplied their places; one undermined the wall; another scaled it; all extremely desirous of engaging the enemy in close fight. The inhabitants, on the contrary, rowled great stones upon the scalers and miners; and threw many barbed arrows, lances, and blazing torches upon them: nor were they more secure, who alarmed with apprehensions retired, the greatest part of them being wounded by the javelins, which the engines discharged or the hand threw; so that the resolute and the cowards were equally endangered, tho' not equally concerned in the attack.

62. WHILST the Romans were engaged at Zama, Jugurtha unexpectedly forces the enemy's intrenchments with a great body of men; and the centinels who were on duty having quitted their posts, as not being the least apprehensive of an attack, he rushes in at one of the gates. But our men, disconcerted by this alarm, endeavour to secure themselves, each taking the method which seemed most proper to him. Some made off, others armed themselves; and a considerable part of them were either wounded or slain. But only forty of them flush'd with a desire of maintaining the Roman grandeur, formed themselves into a body, and possessed themselves of a little ascent; nor could the utmost efforts of the enemy dislodge them; but they discharged their own javelins upon them, nor oft were they in vain, since their number was great. If the Numidians advanced, they then evidenced their resolution, and repulsed them with great loss, killing, defeating, and putting them to flight. In the mean time Metellus, when briskly engaged in assaulting the town, heard the shouts and tumult of
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thini paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

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62. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improvviso castra hostium cum magnâ manu invadit : remissis, qui in præsidio erant, & omnia magis, quàm prælium, expectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt alii fugere, alii arma capere ; magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Cæterum ex omni multitudine non ampliùs quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto locum cepere paulò, quàm alii, editiorem : neque indè maximâ vi depelli quiverunt : sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minùs frustrati : sin Numidæ propiùs accessissent, ibi verò virtutem ostendere, & eos maxumâ vi cadere, fundere, atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cùm acerrumè rem gereret, clamorem & tumultum hostilem à tergo accepit : dein, converso
equo,

forts of the Romans. But when the enemies were vigorous in their repulses, they make off, having lost some few of their troops.

61. MARIUS arrived at Zama; the town was situated upon a level, and it was not naturally very strong, but rendered so by art. There was a great affluence of all necessaries in the place, it was furnished with a very considerable quantity of military instruments, and was populous. Metellus having therefore made all necessary preparations, invests the town with his army, and assigns to each lieutenant-general his post; and then, on a signal being given, there are great shouts made on all sides, which did not in the least intimidate the Numidians, who, undaunted, stood prepared to receive the charge of the enemy. Upon this they engage. The Romans fought according to their pleasure; some discharged stones and balls; some retired: others supplied their places; one undermined the wall; another scaled it; all extremely desirous of engaging the enemy in close fight. The inhabitants, on the contrary, rowled great stones upon the scalers and miners; and threw many barbed arrows, lances, and blazing torches upon them: nor were they more secure, who alarmed with apprehensions retired, the greatest part of them being wounded by the javelins, which the engines discharged or the hand threw; so that the resolute and the cowards were equally endangered, tho' not equally concerned in the attack.

62. WHILST the Romans were engaged at Zama, Jugurtha unexpectedly forces the enemy's intrenchments with a great body of men; and the centinels who were on duty having quitted their posts, as not being the least apprehensive of an attack, he rushes in at one of the gates. But our men, disconcerted by this alarm, endeavour to secure themselves, each taking the method which seemed most proper to him. Some made off, others armed themselves; and a considerable part of them were either wounded or slain. But only forty of them flush'd with a desire of maintaining the Roman grandeur, formed themselves into a body, and possessed themselves of a little ascent; nor could the utmost efforts of the enemy dislodge them; but they discharged their own javelins upon them, nor oft were they in vain, since their number was great. If the Numidians advanced, they then evidenced their resolution, and repulsed them with great loss, killing, defeating, and putting them to flight. In the mean time Metellus, when briskly engaged in assaulting the town, heard the shouts and tumult of
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an enemy in his rear. Upon which he turn'd his horse, and saw a great number of people running towards him, which circumstance convinced him they were his confederates. He therefore detached all his cavalry to the camp, and soon after Marius with some battalions of auxiliaries; and weeping intreats him by their amicable contract, and the state, to avert the blemishes which were now staining the character of their successful troops, and to punish the enemy for their presumption. His orders were quickly executed. But the fosse preventing Jugurtha's escaping that way, whilst some precipitated themselves down it, and others by crouding into the gate-way prevented each others escape, he got off with a considerable loss, and retires to his holds. Metellus, when night came on, being incapable of compleating his design, retires with his forces to the camp.

63. WHEREFORE, on the following day, before he advanced to renew the assault, he orders all his cavalry to patrolle on that side of the camp where Jugurtha would force it; posts tribunes at the gates and other adjacent places; and goes himself to renew the attack in the same manner. Jugurtha, in the mean time, advances from his covert, and falls unexpectedly upon our men. Those ranks which he first attacked were somewhat disordered, but were soon supported by the other forces coming up; and the Numidians had been unable to have sustained the fight for any considerable space of time, had not their infantry, acting in concert with the cavalry, made great havoc. In whom the cavalry confiding, they did not conform to their usual method of fighting, for some time pursue them, again make off; but charged our troops breast to breast, disordering and shocking them so much, that they surrendered them almost conquered, to be slaughter'd by the light-arm'd infantry.

64. DURING this fight the engagement at Zama was very obstinate, every officer supporting it to the utmost of his power, not confiding in the resolution of other persons, but in his own; nor were the inhabitants less strenuous in repulsing; and the sole care of both armies was destruction, not preservation. Shouts, adhortations, rejoicings, moans were confounded together. The heavens ecchoed with the clashing of their arms, and there was a frequent discharge of weapons on all sides. When the vigour of the assailants was allayed, the besieged from the wall attentively observed the engagement of the cavalry; and you might have perceived a sensible change

equo, animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri ; quæ res indicat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra properè mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum ; eumque lacrumans, per amicitiam, perque rempublic. obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, nève hostes inultos abire finat. Ille brevè mandata efficit. At Jugurtha, munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recipit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

63. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egredere-
tur, equitatum omnem in eâ parte, quâ regis adventus erat, pro ca-
stris agitare jubet : portas, & proxima loca tribunis dispertit : dein
ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, uti superiore die, murum aggreditur.
Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repentè nostros invadit. Qui in primo
locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur : reliqui citò subveniunt.
Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, nî pedites cum equitibus
permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent : quibus illi freti, non
uti equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed advorsis equis con-
currere, implicare, ac perturbare aciem : ita, expeditis peditibus suis,
hostis penè victos dare.

64. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magnâ vi certabatur. Ubi
quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eò acerrumè niti, neque alius
in alio magis, quam in sese, spem habere : pariterque oppidani agere,
oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis : avidiùs alteri alteros fauciare,
quàm semet tegere. Clamor permixtus, hortatione, lætitiâ, gemitu :
item strepitus armorum ad cælum ferri : tela utrimque volare. Sed
illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paululùm modò pugnam re-
miserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant. Eos, uti quæque
Jugurthæ

change in their countenance, according as Jugurtha had the advantage, or was worsted; and where their allies were capable of hearing or seeing them, some advised them what measures they should take; others animated them, or signified to them with their hands, or by extending their bodies, their pleasure, moving backwards and forwards, as if they were concerned in the battle, and averting or giving a discharge of weapons. Which Marius observing, for he was the commander in that quarter, he voluntarily lessened his ardour, as if he was faint with action; and permitted the Numidians uninterrupted to view the fight of the king. Then on a sudden, when their attention was engaged by the battle, he briskly renews his efforts against the town; and our men had near scaled the walls, when the inhabitants crowding to that quarter, threw stones, fire, and other military weapons upon them. Our soldiers at first sustained the shock, but one or two of the ladders breaking, those that were upon them fell down, and the remaining men got off as safe as they possibly could; few escaping unhurt, and a considerable number very much wounded. After this night, obliged them to discontinue their attack.

65. WHEN Metellus found it was impracticable to compass his design, and to make himself master of the town, and was sensible that Jugurtha would not engage him, unless by surprize or at advantage; and that the campaign was now almost expired, he retires from Zama, and garrisons those cities which had declined his interest, naturally strong, or rendered so by art. But he goes into winter-quarters in that part of the province on which Numidia borders. However he did not, after the practice of others, indulge indolence or luxury, during his stay in them; but as a trifling advantage accrued to him from engagements, he determines to ensnare Jugurtha by the assistance of his confidents, and to make their treachery his arms. He therefore, with many promises, sounds the disposition of Bomilcar, who had been an attendant of Jugurtha at Rome, and had, by flying from his bail, averted a trial for Maffiva's murder; because, as he had an intimate acquaintance with him, a more favourable opportunity presented itself to allure him; and accordingly he at first persuades him to come privately to a consultation, and then declaring upon his honour, if he delivered Jugurtha dead or alive, he should have his pardon, and be reinstated in the possession of his fortune; the Numidian, with little or no difficulty, was induced to it, since his disposition

Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modò, modò pavidos animadverteres : ac, sicuti audiri à suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus : huc & illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacentes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in eâ parte curabat) consultò leniùs agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare : pati Numidas finè tumultu, regis prælium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repentè magnâ vi murum aggreditur ; & jam scalis adgressi milites propè summa ceperant, cùm oppidani concurrunt ; lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primò resistere : dein, ubi unæ, atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt ; cæteri, quo quisque modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus, abeunt. Deinde utrimque prælium nox diremit.

65. METELLUS, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere ; & jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zamâ discedit : & in iis urbibus, quæ ad sese defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Cæterùm exercitum in provinciam, quæ proxima est Numidiæ, hyemandi gratiâ collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti, aut luxuriæ concedit ; sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, & eorum perfidiâ pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurthâ fuerat, & indè, vadibus datis, clàm de Massivæ nece judicium fugerat, quòd ei per maxumum amicitiam maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur : ac primò efficit, ut ad se colloquendi gratiâ occultus veniat ; dein fide datâ, si Jugurtham vivum, aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem, & sua omnia concederet. Facile Numidæ persuadet, cùm ingenio

disposition was inconstant ; and also apprehensive of being delivered up to the Romans to take his trial, by the articles of peace, when the war was terminated.

66. HE, as soon as possible, addresses Jugurtha, anxious concerning the issue of the war, and deploring his misfortunes, and advises and intreats him with tears, to have some concern for the security of himself, his children, and the Numidians, who had by their conduct merited it ; representing, that victory had attended the Romans in every engagement ; whilst his dominions were ravaged, and most of his subjects slain, or taken prisoners ; which circumstances had very much attenuated the power of his kingdom ; that he must be very well acquainted with the resolution of his troops ; and could not but be sensible how capricious fortune had been, and that it was therefore incumbent on him to guard against other accidents, lest the Numidians should decline serving him, and themselves concert secure methods. These and other similar arguments induced the king to a surrender. Whereupon embassadors were deputed to the general to acquaint him with the submission of Jugurtha to his pleasure, and with his surrendering himself and his dominions, without proposing articles to be ratified, to his honour. Metellus orders those of the senatorian order to be immediately summoned from their winter-quarters ; and debates with them, and others he thought proper to appoint, on this concern. The resolution of the council was agreeable to the practice of their ancestors ; and he orders Jugurtha, by the embassadors, to send two hundred thousand pound of silver, and to deliver all his elephants, and some horses and arms ; which being immediately delivered, he orders him to send all those who had deserted from him, bound in chains ; most of whom were sent according to Metellus's orders, but some few having been acquainted with Jugurtha's surrender, made off to Bocchus king of Mauritania. Jugurtha being thus destitute of men, money, and arms, at his being summoned to Tisfidium to receive other orders, begun again to deviate from his resolution to surrender ; and through a consciousness of his crimes, to be apprehensive of punishment. In fine, having continued fluctuating for many days, sometimes thinking through a weariness of misfortunes, any conditions preferable to war ; and on the other hand, reflecting on the fall he must necessarily have from being sovereign of an empire, into servitude ; though he had delivered up the greatest part of his power, yet he renews the war ; the senate had already, in a late consultation how to dispose of the provinces, voted Metellus Numidia.

infido, tum metuendi, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

66. Is, ubi primùm opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium, ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit : monet, atque lacrumans obtestatur, ut aliquando sibi liberisque, & genti Numidarum optumè merenti, provideat : omnibus præliis sese victos : agrum vastatum : multos mortalis captos, occisos : regni opes comminutas esse : fati sæpe jam & virtutem militum, & fortunam tentatam : caveat, ne, illo cunctante, Numidæ sibi consulant. His, atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent, ac finè ullâ pactione sese, regnùmque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus properè cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hybernis accerfiri jubet : eorum, atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum, & armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam finè morâ facta sunt, jubet perfugas omnis victos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti : pauci, cùm primùm deditio cœpit, ad Regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis, virisque, & pecuniâ spoliatus est, cùm ipse ad imperandum Tifidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, & ex malâ conscientia digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem consumtis, cùm modò tædio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret ; interdum secum ipse reputaret, quàm gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret : multis, magnisque præfidiis nequicquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ senatus, de provinciis consultus, Numidiam Metello decreverat.

67. WHEN C. Marius was, about the same time, at Utica performing sacrifices to the Gods, the Haruspex declared to him, that heaven decreed him considerable and uncommon honours; that he might be assured of the favour of heaven in whatever enterprizes he engaged; and might make his own pleasure his guide, since he would successfully effect what he aimed at. Sometime since Marius had been vastly desirous of being elected consul, and was invested with all necessary endowments, industry, probity, and a compleat knowledge in the art of war, a great resolution in battle, moderation at home, contempt of avarice and riches, and a desire of true glory only, but he was of mean * parentage. The place of his birth and education was Arpinum, and when he was capable of bearing arms, his only pursuit was serving the state in wars, not the Grecian eloquence, not the city fashions; and by educating his mind to those noble sentiments, he attained to a system of knowledge. When he first applied to the people for the office of tribune, tho' he was unknown to most of them; yet they being acquainted with his character, were soon acquainted with him, and unanimously elected him. Then he rose gradually from one office to another; and so engaged all persons by his conduct, that they judg'd he merited an office superior to that with which he was invested; yet tho' he was so regarded, he did not at that time attempt (for ambition afterwards was his sole guide, which hurried him on to criminal practices) to declare himself a candidate for the consulship. For then the commonalty were invested with other offices; but the noblesse retained the consulship in their own hands, giving it first to one, then to another. No person of mean extraction, tho' never so well qualified, was judged to merit it, but rather thought a blemish to its dignity.

68. MARIUS being sensible that the declarations of the Haruspex were consonant with his own aspiring desires, he desires Metellus to discharge him, that he might solicit for the consulship. But though Metellus was furnished with probity, glory, and other laudable excellencies, yet was he disdainful and proud, the common misfortune of the noblesse. Wherefore being at first surprized with the strange request, he wondered at his design, and advised him, as if through a regard for him, not to indulge such wild thoughts, nor to aim at any

* Mr. Clark, in his translation of this passage, has made no inconsiderable error; he has rendered it thus: "Besides that of a noble descent." But it evidently appears, from what Sallust afterwards says, that Marius was, as I have translated it, of mean parentage.

67. PER idem tempus Uticæ fortè C. Mario, per hostias diis supplicanti, magna, atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat : proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus diis ageret : fortunam quàm sæpissime experiretur ; cuncta prosperè eventura. At illum jam antea consulatûs ingens cupido exagitabat : ad quem capiundum, præter vetustatem familiæ, alia omnia abunde erant ; industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricinis & divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus, & omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primùm ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciendis, non Græcâ facundiâ, neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit : ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevè adolevit. Ergo ubi primùm tribunatum militum à populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus facilè notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu, alium post alium sibi peperit : semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quàm gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregius factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, & quasi pollutus haberetur.

68. IGITUR, ubi Marius haruspiciis dicta eodem intendere videt, quò cupido animi hortabatur ; ab Metello petundi gratiâ missionem rogat : cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus, & superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primùm commotus insolitâ re, mirari ejus consilium, & quasi per amicitiam monere, ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret : non omnibus cupienda esse : debere

thing above his sphere ; saying, that it was not allowed all men to desire all things, and that he ought to acquiesce in his present situation ; and desired him, in fine, to decline suing for that which the Roman people might justly refuse him. After he had urged this, and other similar arguments, to oblige Marius to quit his design ; and finding it was impracticable to make him desist, he told him, That he would discharge him, when the concerns of the state would admit of it. And when Marius repeated his request, they say, he told him, there was no occasion for such hurry, since it would be soon enough for him to declare himself a candidate for the consulship, when his son did. He was then in the army with his father, about twenty years of age. This rendered Marius more desirous of compassing his design, and implanted in him an inveteracy for Metellus ; so that his sole guides were ambition and anger, the most prejudicial companions ; he acted and spoke in such a manner as would procure him the affections of the army ; he used a looser discipline in governing the soldiers in the winter-quarters under his command, and conversing with the merchants, of which there were many in Utica, concerning the present war, inveighed against Metellus's conduct ; alledging that he with half the troops, if he was to conduct the war, would soon take Jugurtha, and chain him ; that the general voluntarily continued the war, who fired with the pride of a king, was too fond of command. Which assertions they were more inclined to credit, because their trade was prejudiced by the continuance of the war ; and none acts with sufficient expedition in the opinion of him who is intent on wealth.

69. THERE was also in our army a certain Numidian, called Gauda, the son of Manastabal, and the grandson of Masinissa, who was appointed by Mispisa, in his will, second successor to the crown ; but was so weakened by distempers, that it prejudiced his intellectual faculties. He had desired Metellus to permit him, as being a king, to sit next him, and to let him have some Roman horse, as a guard to his person ; both which royal privileges he denied him ; the honour of having a seat next him for this reason, that it was only allowed those whom the Romans stiled kings ; and he refused him the guard, because it was inconsistent with the dignity of Roman knights to wait upon a Numidian. He was affronted at these denials, and Marius animated him, desiring him to sue for redress for those grievances, wherein he would support him with his interest. He flatters this man,
who

illi res suas satis placere : postremò caveret id petere à populo Rom. quod illi jure negaretur. Postquam hæc, atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur ; respondit, ubi primùm potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret : ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, ne festinaret abire ; satis maturè illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine, atque irâ, pessumis consultoribus, grassari : neque factò ullo, neque dictò abstinere, quod modò ambitiosum foret : milites, quibus in hybernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quàm antea habere : apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminosè simul & magnificè de bello loqui : dimidia pars exercitûs, si sibi permetteretur : paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum : ab imperatore consultò trahi, quòd homo inanis, & superbiæ regiæ, imperio nimis gauderet. Quæ omnia illis eò firmiora videbantur, quòd diuturnitate bellì res familiaris corruperant : & animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

69. ERAT præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Manastabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum hæredem scripserat ; morbis confectus, & ob eam causam mente paululùm imminutâ. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum, uti sellam juxtà poneret, item postea custodiæ causâ turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat : honorem, quòd eorum modò foret, quos populus R. reges appellavisset ; præsidium, quòd contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani, satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur, atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum in imperatorem cum suo auxilio pœnas petat : hominem ob
morbos

who was by distempers almost deprived of his senses, representing to him, that he was of royal extraction, a man of note, and Masinissa's grandson. That if Jugurtha should be killed, or only taken prisoner, he would immediately be invested with the sovereignty of Numidia; which might soon be effected, was he elected consul, and the conductor of the war. Wherefore Gauda, the Roman knights, soldiers, and merchants, partly at his solicitations, and partly entertaining hopes of a peace, wrote to their correspondents at Rome, censuring the conduct of Metellus, and acquainting them, how desirous they were of having Marius appointed commander in chief of the forces in Numidia. Thus did he sue for the consulship, strenuously supported by the honourable interest, which many made in his favour. The commonalty having also weakened the power of the noblesse by the Mamilian law, invested strangers with offices. All these circumstances concurr'd with Marius's inclinations.

70. JUGURTHA, in the mean time, having declined surrendering, takes the field, diligently applies himself to make all the necessary preparations for the war, as expeditiously as possible, and levies an army. He also tries to recover those cities which had revolted, by menacing some, and making great promises to others; fortifies places which might be of service, replenishes his magazine with all military stores, which he had delivered up, through hopes of peace, to the enemy, endeavours to attach the Roman slaves to his interest; and to prevail by the influence of his gold, on those in the garrisoned towns, to deliver them also to him. In fine, he made use of all his policy, in discovering methods to render himself secure, and tried each of them. Wherefore the principal inhabitants of Vacca, which had been garrisoned by Metellus, when Jugurtha designed to surrender, at the repeated solicitations of the king (for they were not before disaffected persons, form a design to surrender the town; as for the vulgar sort of people, they were equally inclined as their ancestors, more particularly the Numidians; for they were fluctuating, inconstant, litigious, fond of innovations, and enemies to ease and tranquility. These persons having settled their affairs, with regard to the conspiracy, determine to execute their design on the third day, which, as it was a festival assiduously solemnized by the Africans, would not admit of any apprehensions of danger; for joy and wantonness then engaged their attention. Accordingly on that day, they invite the centurions, military tribunes, and T. Turpilius Silanus, the governor

morbos animo parùm valido secundâ oratione extollit : illum regem, virum ingentem, Masinissæ nepotem esse : si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiæ finè morâ habiturum : id adeò maturè posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque & illum, & equites Romanos, milites, & negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios asperè in Metellum de bello scribant ; Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi à multis mortalibus honestissimâ suffragatione consulatus petebatur. Simul eâ tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusâ per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

70. INTERIM Jugurtha, postquam, omisâ deditione, bellum incipit, cum magnâ curâ parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum ; civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia affectare : communire suos locos : arma, tela, aliâque, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari : servitia Romanorum allicere, & eos ipsos, qui in præfidiis erant, pecuniâ tentare : prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati : cuncta agitare. Igitur Vaccenses, quò Metellus initio, Jugurthâ pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant : nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, & maxumè Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum, atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti & otio advorsum ; dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt ; quòd is festus celebratúsque per omnem Africam, ludum, & lasciviam magis, quàm formidinem, ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones, tribunósque militaris, & ipsum præfectum oppidi L. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos

governor of the town to their houses, and during the entertainment assassinate all the guests but Turpilius; then they murder the soldiers wandering about the town unarm'd, and, as is usual on those days, independant. The inferior sort of people act in the same manner; some at the solicitations of the noblesse; and others thro' a fondness for it, who, tho' ignorant of their proceedings and design, were pleased with the confusion, and the strangeness of the affair.

71. THE Romans being so unexpectedly attacked, were undetermined what measures to take, and hurried to the citadel, where their arms and colours were deposited; but were prevented entering, since the gates were shut, and a guard placed there. Moreover, the women and children, from the roofs of the houses, threw down stones, and other things which the place afforded; so that, encompassed with this double distress, it was not in their power to enter upon proper measures; nor could the most resolute repulse the efforts of the weakest; the brave and cowards, the active and indolent were all destroyed unrevenged. In this calamitous situation, whilst the Numidians raged about murdering, and the gates were shut, the governor Turpilius was the only one of the Romans who escaped; but whether it was that the entertainer was moved with his case, or that his escape was fortuitous, or agreed upon, is disputeable. However, as he amidst the calamities which attended his fellow-citizens, judged a life acquired, tho' scandalous, preferable to an honourable death, he ought to be looked upon as a despicable coward. Metellus, when informed of the proceedings of Vacca, being first dejected, did not see company; but being at last fired with resentment as well as sorrowful, he applied himself with all expedition to revenge the death of his friends. He therefore leads about sun-set, the legion from their winter-quarters, and as many Numidian horse as he could raise; and on the following day, about three o'clock, arrived at a plain encompassed with gentle ascents, where his men, fatigued with marching, refused obedience to his orders; upon which he declared to them, Vacca was not a mile distant from them; and that it was incumbent on them to support patiently the remaining trouble which was inconsiderable, to revenge the murder of their friends, their fellow-citizens, who were resolute and unfortunate; and at the same time generously told them, they should be allowed to plunder the place. By this they were inspired with new courage, upon which he orders the cavalry to advance first, and then the infantry in close order, hiding their colours.

72. WHEN

suas invitant ; eos omnis, præter Turpiliū, inter epulas obtruncant ; postea milites palantis, inermes, quippe in tali die, ac finè imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quīs, acta, consiliūque ignorantibus tumultus ipse, & res novæ fatīs placebant.

71. ROMANI milites, improvīso metu, incerti ignarīque quid potissimū facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa, & scuta erant : præsidium hostium, portæ antè clausæ fugam prohibebant ; ad hoc mulieres, puerīque, pro tectis ædificiorum saxa, & alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque à fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse : juxtà boni, malīque, strenui, & imbelles inulti obtruncati. In eā tantā asperitate, sævislūmis Numidis, & oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus : id misericordiāne hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parū comperimus ; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integrā famā potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit, paulisper mœstus è conspectu abit : dein, ubi ira & ægritudo permixta sunt, cum maxumā curā ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem cum qua hyemabat, & quā plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit : & postērā die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quandam planitiem, locis paulò superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, & jam abnuentes omnia, docet oppidum Vaccam non ampliūs mille passuum abesse : decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati ; dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis, atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent. Præterea prædam benignè ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latere, pedites quā arctissimè ire, & signa occultare jubet.

72. WHEN the Vaccenses perceived the army advancing to the town, they imagined it to be Metellus's forces, as it really was, and shut their gates; but they seeing them march without injuring the fields, and the Numidian cavalry in the van, were persuaded it was Jugurtha, and thereupon advance with great alacrity to meet him. Upon which, when an unexpected signal was made, the horse and infantry charge them; some slaughter'd the croud which had sallied out of the town; some made all possible haste to the gates, and others possessed themselves of the towers. Now their spirit of resentment and hopes of booty banished all the thoughts of fatigue; so that the joy of the Vaccenses, for the happy execution of their plot, continued for two days; and this opulent and considerable people were either slain or pillaged. As for the governor Turpilius, who, as we have before observ'd, escaped, Metellus summoned him to appear for his trial, wherein, having little or nothing to urge in his defence, he was condemned to die; and accordingly he was scourged and then beheaded; for he was only a Roman * citizen, according to the Norban law.

73. IT was also now that Jugurtha entertained a suspicion of Bomilcar, at whose solicitations he had determined to surrender his dominions, which resolution he through apprehension had declined; and Bomilcar also suspecting him, thro' a fond desire for an innovation, was continually inventing methods to destroy him; and having attentively surveyed every design, he at last associates Nabdalsa in his plot, a man of noble descent, immense fortune, and extensive interest in his country, who generally commanded a separate army for Jugurtha, and attended upon those military concerns, which the king, through fatigue, and necessitated to observe matters of greater importance, could not take care of; by which he had attained glory and an immense fortune. They therefore unanimously appointed a day for the execution; and as for the method, it was to be determined by the juncture of affairs. Nabdalsa after this returned to the forces under his command, which he had posted, according to Jugurtha's instructions, within the winter-quarters of Metellus, to act against him in his variations. However, as he, apprehensive of miscarriage in so grand an affair, came not at the time they resolved upon; the design proved abortive. Upon which Bomilcar, bent on the execution of his project, and perplexed at the doubt of his associate, lest he might, declining his design, form a new one which might be inconsistent with his safety, sends a letter to him by one of his confidants; wherein he

* Those citizens had the privileges allowed the Latins before their revolt.

reflected

72. VACCENSES ubi animadvertere ad se vorsum exercitum pergere ; primò, uti res erat, Metellum esse rati, portas claudere : dein, ubi neque agros vastari, & eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursus Jugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditésque, repentè signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido cadere : alii ad portas festinare ; pars turres capere ; ira, atque spes prædæ, ampliùs, quàm lassitudo, posse. Ita Vaccenses biduum modò ex perfidiâ lætati : civitas magna & opulens pœnæ cuncta, aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse, suprà ostendimus, jussus à Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatúsque capite pœnas solvit. Nam is civis ex Latio erat.

73. PER idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditio- nem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectúsque regi, & ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere : ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere : diu noctúque fatigare animum : denique, omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus clarum, acceptúmque popularibus suis : qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exerci- tum ductare, & omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fessò, aut majoribus adstricto superaverant ; ex quo illi gloria, opésque in- ventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies infidiis statuitur : cætera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hyberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager inultis hosti- bus vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit : metúsque rem impediēbat, Bomilcar simul cupi- dinibus incepta patrādi, & timore socii anxius, ne, omisso vetere con- silio, novum quæreret ; litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit : in

reflected on his timidity and effeminacy, called the deities, by which they had bound themselves, to witness against his misconduct; desiring him to guard against converting the favours, which Metellus would give them, if meriting them, into inevitable ruin. That Jugurtha's continuance in his sovereignty was short, but whether they or Metellus was to complete his destruction, was the object of their consideration. And that he must reflect with himself whether favours or a most torturing death was eligible.

74. WHEN Nabdalsa received this letter, he, being fatigued with exercise, was accidentally reposing himself on his couch; and having read it, was very much concerned how to act; and when he had reflected on it for some time, as is a common accident, he slept. Now he had a Numidian, who in all concerns he made his confident, much regarded, and informed by him of all his projects, but the last. This man, having heard a letter was come to his master, imagining his advice or service was requisite as usual, enters his tent; and as he was asleep, takes the letter, which he had carelessly laid down upon the pillow, and reads the contents of it: Having thus discovered the design, he hastens to the king. Nabdalsa awaking soon after, could not find his letter, and was acquainted with the affair by some deserters. Upon which he first attempts to overtake the Numidian; but finding it impracticable, he goes to Jugurtha to soothe his passion; declaring, that his perfidious servant had prevented him discovering the conspiracy in person; and intreats him with tears, by the friendship which was subsisting between them, and by his former merits, not to entertain any suspicion of him, as guilty of such treason.

75. JUGURTHA not making his words consonant with his thoughts, made a civil reply; and having taken off Bomilcar, and the other persons who he found were his associates, he stifled his resentment in prejudice of Nabdalsa, being apprehensive it might give birth to civil commotions. The king, from this day, was continually perplexed, nor did he think himself secure any where, subjects or enemies raised in him the same apprehensions; he was ever eying around him, and intimidated by the least noise; and at nights he rested himself in different places, acting inconsistently with the dignity of a crowned head; at one time, he would start out of his sleep, very much disordered, and arm himself; and was so terrified with apprehensions, that he acted as a man tossed with a frenzy.

quâs mollitiem, fœcordiâque viri accusare : testari deos, per quos juravisset : monere, ne præmia Metelli in pestem suam converteret ; Jugurthæ exitium adesse : cæterum, suâne, an Metelli virtute periret, id modò agitari : proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia an cruciatum mallet.

74. SED cùm eæ litteræ allatæ, fortè Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat ; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primò cura, dein, ut ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator fidus, acceptusque, & omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimum, particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus operâ aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introit : dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temerè positam, sumit, ac perlegit : dein properè, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paulò experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, & rem omnem, ut acta erat, ex perfugis cognovit ; primò indicem persequi conatus : postquam id frustrâ fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratiâ accedit : quæ ipse paravisset, perfidiâ clientis sui, facere præventum : lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam, pèrque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

75. AD ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placidè respondit. Bomilcare, aliisque multis, quos fœcios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio feditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta fuit : neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori fati credere : civis, hostis juxtâ metuere ; circumspectare omnia, & omni strepitu pavescere, alio, atque alio loco sæpe contrâ decus regium, noctu requiescere : interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere : ita formidine, quasi vecordiâ, exagitari.

76. IGITUR

76. METELLUS being informed of the misfortunes of Bomilcar, and of the discovery of the conspiracy by some deserters, makes all necessary preparations for renewing the war with great expedition; and dismisses Marius, who wearied him with his importunities, and being disaffected to him, would be of little or no service. When the commons also at Rome were acquainted with the contents of the letters, concerning the conduct of Metellus and Marius, their behaviours engaged their regard. The noble descent of our general which had before been of service to him, with regard to his character, was now the object of the peoples envy, whilst the mean parentage of the other gained him their affection. But their own laudable or contemptible qualifications had no influence over the peoples minds, since they were guided by party-zeal. Moreover, some discontented magistrates rendered the people more warm, for they indicted Metellus for many capital crimes in every assembly, and passed the greatest encomiums on the conduct of Marius. In fine, the people were so hurried away by party-zeal, that the artists and the husbandmen, whose subsistence and credit was dependant on their industry, declining their pursuits, continually attended Marius, and thought his concerns of more importance than their own. This having discouraged the noblesse, after much confusion, this new man is invested with the consulship; and afterwards a motion was made in an assembly of the people, by M. Mantinus, a tribune of the commonalty, that they should determine on the voting of the provinces; and Marius was unanimously voted to be the conductor of war against Jugurtha. Indeed the senate had given Numidia to Metellus, but that decree was of none effect.

77. JUGURTHA was now also deprived of his confidents, most of whom he himself had taken off, and the remaining part had retired, being apprehensive of the same treatment, some to Metellus, and others to king Bocchus, by which finding himself incapable of carrying on the war without proper counsellors, and judging it might be of ill consequence, after the treachery of his old assistants, to confide in new ones, he was fluctuating in his mind, concerning the measures he should take. No circumstance, no proposal, no person eased his mind of apprehensions; he continually altered his marches, and put new governors into his towns; at one time he went against Metellus; at other times retired into his coverts. Sometimes he confided in flying, then in his arms; and was uncertain whether he should
more

76. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris, & indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit : rursus tanquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat, festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectioe, simul & invitum, & offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, litteris, quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant, cognitæ, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori fuerat, invidiæ esse : at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat : cæterum in utroque magis studia partium, quàm bona, aut mala sua, moderata. Præterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii, virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, ut opifices, agrestesque omnes, quorum res, fidésque in manibus sitæ erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium, & sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita perculsâ nobilitate, post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur : & postea populus à Tr. pl. L. Manlio Mantino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurthâ bellum gerere, frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paulò antè Metello Numidiam decreverat. Ea res frustra fuit.

77. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, cæteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant ; cum neque bellum geri finè administris posset, & novorum fidem in tantâ perfidiâ veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabatur : neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat : itinera, præfectosque in dies mutare : modò advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere : sæpe in fugâ, at post paulò in armis spem habere : dubitare virtuti, an fidei

more confide in the resolution or steady allegiance of his subjects. So that whatever he inspected, seemed to obviate his designs. But amidst this inconstancy of sentiments, Metellus advances with his army. Jugurtha disposed of the Numidians, and marshalled them as well as the time would admit ; then a battle ensued. Those troops, which the king commanded in person, for some time sustained the efforts of the Romans, but the other forces were broke and put to flight at the first charge. All their colours and arms were taken by the enemy, with some few prisoners. For generally, in all their engagements, swiftness benefited the Numidians more than their arms.

78. JUGURTHA, upon the defeat he received, was more diffident of success in his design, and retired with the deserters, and part of his cavalry, into the deserts, and then to Thala, a town of considerable repute and wealth ; which was his treasury, and the place where he educated his sons. Of which march, when Metellus received intelligence, though there was a desert fifty miles long, to pass from Thala to the next river ; yet flush'd with the hopes of terminating the war, if he could carry that town, he determines upon encountering all difficulties, and rivalling nature herself in the victory. Having taken this resolution, he orders all his beasts to be unloaded, that they might carry corn sufficient to support the army for ten days ; as also leathern-bags, and other convenient receptacles for water. He also procures as many beasts of burden as possible ; and loads them with all sorts of vessels, but principally wooden ones which they took from the Numidian huts. Moreover, he orders the adjacent people, who had, after the king's defeat, surrendered to Metellus, to take with them as much water as they could possibly carry ; and fixes a time and place for their meeting. He himself fills the vessels, which the beasts carried, out of the river, that was, as we have before observed, the nearest water to the town. Having made these preparations, he marches to Thala. When he arrived at the place appointed for the junction of the Numidians, had encamped and entrenched himself, such a considerable quantity of rain fell, as I am informed, that it was more than sufficient for the support of the troops. There was also an unexpected supply of provisions ; for the Numidians, as is usual after a surrender, had applied themselves diligently to the performance of their commands. But the soldiers, being superstitious, preferred rain water to that of the river ; and that circumstance inspired them with new resolution, for they

popularium minùs crederet. Ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repente se Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurthâ pro tempore parati, instructique sunt : dein prælium incipitur. Quâ in parte rex pugnae affuit ibi aliquandiu certatum : cæteri omnes ejus milites primo congressu pulsi, fugatique : Romani signorum, & armorum, & aliquanto numero hostium potiti. Nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes, quàm arma, tutati sunt.

78. EA fugâ Jugurtha impensius modò rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis, & parte equitatus, in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum, & opulentum : ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam fluménque proximum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida, atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta farcinis levare jubet, nisi frumento dierum x. cæterum utres modò, & alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirat ex agris quàm plurimum potest domiti pecoris : eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitum imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dediderant, quàm plurimum quisque aquæ portaret : diem, locumque, ubi præstò forent, prædicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximum oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat. Eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Dein ubi ad id loci ventum, quò Numidis præceperat ; & castra posita, munitaque sunt ; tanta repente cælo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modò exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior ; quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in novâ deditioe, officia

they imagined the gods thought them an object worthy their care. They arrived, unexpected by Jugurtha, on the following day at Thala. The inhabitants, who persuaded themselves they were sufficiently guarded by the neighbouring desert, alarmed at this uncommon circumstance, strenuously arm themselves for a defence, whilst our soldiers prepare for an assault.

79. THE king, now induced to believe nothing was impracticable for Metellus, since he had subdued arms, surmounted the difficulties of places, conquered times, and even defeated nature herself, the directress of all other things; retired in the night with his children and most of his treasure; nor did he ever after continue in one place longer than a day or a night; palliating his apprehensions, with saying that the concerns in which he was engaged required expedition. But he was really apprehensive of the treachery of his subjects, and others, whose designs he imagined might be rendered abortive by his hasty proceedings: for projects of that nature are generally formed in those times, when ease and indolence are indulged. But Metellus perceiving the inhabitants intent on maintaining the town, fortified by nature and art, he draws a line of circumvallation. Which being done, he orders his soldiers to advance with the Vineæ in the most advantageous places, to raise a rampart on which to erect towers for the defence of the works and those employed therein. The inhabitants, on the other side, were not inactive, but prepared for a vigorous resistance. In fine, both parties applied themselves closely to their several purposes: however, the Romans, after a siege of forty days continuance, with much fatigue, and after many efforts, carried the place. But the Roman deserters had destroyed the spoil. For they, when they saw the battering rams play against the wall, and were sensible of their calamitous situation, carry the gold and silver, and other valuable effects to the palace, where when they had more than satiated themselves with banquetting, they fired the house, which destroyed themselves and the treasure; and voluntarily underwent the same usage they might expect from the army, had they been made prisoners. At that delicate juncture, some deputies arriving from Leptis intreating Metellus to garrison the town, and nominate a governor; for that a person called Hamilcar, of noble descent, and considerable interest, had formed a design inconsistent with the present constitution, nor was he prevented by the magistrates or laws; and that unless he detached some forces

to

intenderant. Cæterùm milites, religione, pluvîâ magis usi : eaque res multum animis eorum addidit. Nam rati sese diis immortalibus curæ esse ; dein postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magnâ atque insolitâ re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare : idem nostri facere.

79. SED rex, nihil jam Metello infectum credens, quippe qui omnia arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, cæteris imperitantem, industriâ vicerat, cum liberis, & magnâ parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit ; neque postea in ullo loco amplius unâ die, aut unâ nocte moratus, simulabat, sese negotii gratiâ properare ; cæterùm prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat. Nam talia consilia per otium & ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum & operibus, & loco munitum videt, vallo, fossâque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde jubet locis ex copiâ maxumè idoneis vineas agere : superque eas aggerem jacere, & super aggerem impositis turribus opus & administratos tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare ; prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo antè labore, præliis que fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quàm eò ventum erat, oppido modò potiti : præda omnis à perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas afflictas vident, aurum, argentumque, & alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant : ibi vino, & epulis onerati, illaque, & domum, & semet igni corrumpunt, & quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere. Sed pariter cum captâ Thalâ legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes uti præsidium, præfectumque eò mitteret : Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere ; adversum quem neque imperia

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to their assistance, they their allies would be endangered. Now the inhabitants of Leptis had, when the war commenced, deputed some persons to the consul Bestia, and then to Rome, to solicit our friendship and alliance. In which, having succeeded, they always continued steady in our interest, and faithfully performed all the orders of Bestia, Albinus and Metellus; so that their desire was soon obtained of the general, and accordingly four battalions of Ligurians were detached, and of which C. Annius was constituted commander.

80. THE Sydonians founded that town, who, as I am informed, being necessitated by civil commotions to quit their country, transported themselves here. Its situation is between the two Syrtes, so named from their nature; for they are two bays situated in the extreme parts of Africa, of an unequal size, but of the same nature. The parts near the coasts are very deep; and the other parts are some deep, some shallow, but more particularly so in a storm: for when the sea swells, and is tossed by the winds, mud, sand and large broken pieces of rocks are drawn by them, so that the face of the places varies with the winds, and from this dragging the Syrtes derive their appellation. The frequent marriages of the inhabitants of Leptis with the Numidians have sensibly altered their language. But their laws and customs are the same as were used by the Sidonians, which were more constantly observed, as the Persian sovereignty was far distant from them, and consequently few of their practices introduced. A desert, of vast extent, separates them from the other inhabited parts of Numidia.

81. AND as the concerns of the Leptitani have obliged us to give you some account of those parts, I judge it may not be improper to acquaint you with an uncommon noble action of two Carthaginians, of which this digression on Leptis has reminded me. When the Carthaginians were masters of the most considerable part of Africa, the Cyrenians were immensely rich, and invested with great power. The region situate between them and the Carthaginians was all a sandy uniform desert, for there was neither any river nor hill, to limit the extent of the dominion of each nation; on which a great war of long continuance ensued. But after both parties were much prejudiced by the fleets and armies they had lost, and apprehensive of being attacked by a third nation, to the disadvantage of the victors and the conquered,

magistratum, neque leges valerent : nî id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. Nam Leptitani jam inde à principio belli Jugurthini ab Bestiam consulem, & postea Romam miserant, amicitiam, societatemque rogatum. Dein, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni, fidelisque mansere : & cuncta à Bestiâ, Albino, Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab Imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ eò cohortes Ligurum quatuor, & C. Annius præfectus.

80. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accipimus profugos, ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse ; cæterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt finus propè in extremâ Africâ, impares magnitudine, pari naturâ : quorum proxuma terræ præalta sunt : cætera, uti fors tulit, alta ; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, & sævire cœpit ventis, limum, arenamque, & saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt ; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ. Ejus civitatis lingua modò conversa connubio Numidarum. Legum, cultusque pleraque Sidonica : quæ eò facilius retinebant, quòd procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos, & frequentem Numidiam inculti vassique loci erant.

81. SED quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium, atque memorabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare. Eam rem nos locus admonuit. Quâ tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, unâ specie : neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret : quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes sæpe fusæ, fugatæque, &

quered, they appointed a truce and came to a conference ; where it was agreed, that deputies should, on a certain day, quit each kingdom ; and that the place of their meeting should limit their dominion. Upon this the two brothers, called Phileni, being sent departed with all expedition. But the Cyrenians were not so expeditious ; and whether it was through indolence, or some unforeseen accident, is undetermined. But there a storm will prevent a journey, as well as ships from pursuing their voyage : for when a wind blows in those level barren places, it raises the sands, and violently casts it upon the faces of the travellers, and into their eyes ; and a view of the road being thus obstructed, they are prevented pursuing their journey. However, when the Cyrenians were sensible of their remissness, being apprehensive that their misconduct would be punished, they accused the Phileni of treachery, as departing before the appointed time, and made great confusion, determining to attempt any thing, rather than miscarry in their design ; and when the Carthaginians desired them to propose any other equitable method whereby they might determine the limits, the Cyrenians bid them chuse whether they would be buried alive in the place where they would have the limits of their dominion, or would admit them, on the same terms, to go as far as they pleased. The first proposal was received by the Phileni, who, to enhance the power of their republic, looked upon themselves and life with contempt ; and were, according to the agreement, buried alive. Altars were erected by the Carthaginians in the place where they were buried, to perpetuate their memory ; and many things were ordained in their honour at Carthage. But to return.

82. WHEN Thala was taken, Jugurtha judging nothing a competent guard against the proceedings of Metellus, retired with a few attendants, travelling through extensive deserts, into Getulia, inhabited by an uncivilized independent people, and at that time unacquainted with the Romans. He levies a considerable body of them, and instructs them in the several military exercises, such as forming themselves into ranks, serving under their respective colours, and obeying orders. He also associates some of Bocchus's confidents, by giving them great largesses, and flushing their minds with large promises ; at whose solicitations the king was induced to commence a war against Metellus. And this was with less difficulty effected, since

alteri alteros aliquantùm attriverant ; veriti ne mox victos, victorésque defeſſos alius aggredieretur, per inducias ſponſionem faciunt, uti certo die legati domo profiſcerentur ; quo in loco inter ſe obvii fuiſſent, is communis utriuſque populi finis haberetur. Igitur duo fratres Carthagine miſſi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere : Cyrenenſes tardiùs iere. Id ſocordiâne, an caſu acciderit, parum cognovi. Cæterùm ſolet in locis illis tempeſtas haud ſecùs, atque in mari, retinere. Nam, ubi per loca æqualia, & nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magnâ vi agitata, ora, oculóſque implere ſolet ; ita proſpectu impedito, morari iter. Poſtquam Cyrenenſes aliquantò poſteriores ſe eſſe vident, & ob rem corruptam, domi pœnas metuunt, criminari Carthaginienſes ante tempus domo digreſſos ; conturbare rem ; denique omnia malle, quàm victi abire. Sed cùm Pœni aliam conditionem tantummodo æquam peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginienſium faciunt ; uti vel illi, quos finis populo ſuo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur ; vel eâdem conditione ſeſe, quem in locum vellent, proceſſuros : Philæni, conditione probatâ, ſèque, vitâque ſuam reip. condonavere : ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienſes in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras confecravere : aliique illis domi honores inſtituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

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Bocchus had been denied the alliance of the Romans, to desire which he had sent deputies to Rome ; for they, tho' they were persuaded it might be very serviceable at the commencement of this war, yet some few, infatuated with avarice, and prepared to dispose of business of a laudable or contemptible nature, prevented it. Jugurtha had also for some time before espoused Bocchus's daughter. But that sort of contract is but a trifling argument with the Numidians and Moors ; since every one is there allowed to marry as many women as he is capable of supporting ; some having ten wives, others more, but the kings the greatest number. The mind being so made to deviate from the tie, by the number they had, they regarded none as a friend ; but entertain the same disregard for them all.

83. THE two armies upon this assemble at the place fixed by the Princes ; where, having assured each other of their steady adherence, Jugurtha flush'd Bocchus's mind, by thus representing to him, how unequitable the proceedings of the Romans were, how immoderate their desires, how their inveteracy was aimed against all mortals. That they had as just a reason to engage in a war against Bocchus, as against himself, and other nations, namely the thirst of dominion, to indulge which they judged all sovereign princes enemies to their state ; that now he was one, and not long since the Carthaginians, and king Perses. And that every prince, invested with great power, would also in after times be attacked by them. Having used these, and other similar arguments, they determined to march to Cirta, because that was the magazine of Metellus, where he had deposited the plunder and the baggage, as also the place where he had confined the prisoners ; so that Jugurtha imagined it to be either of consequence, if he carried the city, or if the Romans arrived to its support, a battle must necessarily ensue. For he, by fraudulent practices, attempted to render Bocchus as disaffected as possible to the Romans, lest he, musing upon the affair, should decline his first resolution.

84. METELLUS, upon having been acquainted with the alliance of Bocchus with Jugurtha, did not give battle in every place, as he had before done, when the king had been oft routed, but encamping near Cirta, he waits for the arrival of the kings, judging it improper to fight with the Moors, of whose resolution he was entirely ignorant, unless at an advantage. During this he received a letter from Rome, which acquainted him with the assignment of Numidia to
 2 Marius.

nos bellum suscipiat. Id eâ gratiâ facilius, proniûsque fuit, quòd Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, fœdus, & amicitiam petitem. Quam rem opportunissimam incepto belli pauci impediverant, cæci avaritiâ, quîs omnia honesta, atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verùm ea necessitudo apud Numidas, Maurósque levis ducitur : quòd singuli pro opibus, quisque quàm plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habeant ; sed reges eo ampliûs. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur ; nullam pro sociâ obtinet : pariter omnes viles sunt.

83. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. Ibi, fide datâ, & acceptâ, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit : Romanos injustos, profundâ avaritiâ, communes omnium hostis esse : eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum, & cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quîs omnia regna advorsa sint : tum sese, paulò antè Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, pòst, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ità Romanis hostem fore. His, atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt : quòd ibi Q. Metellus prædam, captivósque & impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, captâ urbe, operæ pretium fore ; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modò festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere : ne, moras agitando, aliud, quàm bellum, mallet.

84. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti sæpe, jam victo Jugurthâ, consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit : cæterùm, haud procul ab Cirtâ castris munitis, reges opperitur, melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Româ per litteras fit certior, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam.

Marius. For he had before been informed of his being elected consul. At which, being more surprized than was consistent with a man of an honourable character, he could not prevent tears, or regulate his tongue, who, tho' of uncommon resolution in other things, yet was too much dejected when anxious in his mind. This some judged to be the result of his haughtiness; others of the just resentment he entertained for his unequitable treatment; and many thought it was because he was discomfited, that he should be deprived of those victories his intrepidity had gained him. Yet declining this variety of opinions, it seems very evident to me, that he was more concerned that Marius was advanced, than that he was injured, and would not have been so affected, had the province of which he was dispossessed been voted to any but Marius.

85. METELLUS, prevented from acting by this concern, and judging it foolish that another person's affairs should engage his regard to his prejudice, he sends deputies to Bocchus, desiring he would not enter upon a war against the Romans, without having any grounds for such proceedings; representing, that a favourable opportunity now presented itself, wherein he might enter into an alliance with them, which was much preferable to a war. And that tho' he thought his power was a sufficient security, he ought not to decline the acceptance of certainties, to pursue uncertainties. That a war might be commenced with little or no difficulty, but was not so easily terminated; for the same person was not invested with the power of beginning and terminating it. That any coward was capable of beginning a war; but the conclusion of it was dependant on the will of the victor. He therefore desired him to guard against entering upon measures inconsistent with the safety of himself and his dominions; and not hazard his present prosperity in supporting the calamitous cause of Jugurtha. This Bocchus answered in very genteel terms; saying, that his desire was to enjoy tranquility, but yet he had compassion on distressed Jugurtha; and that if he might be admitted into the treaty, the war would soon be terminated. Metellus deputed other messengers with an answer for Bocchus, submitting to some of his proposals, rejecting others; and thus by sending deputies, the time expired, and the war, according to the desire of Metellus, for some time discontinued.

86. BUT Marius, as we have before observ'd, was elected consul by the unanimous consent of the people, who also made him the conductor of the war in Numidia, and was now more desirous of quashing the
power

Nam consulem factum antè acceperat. Quibus rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lachrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam : vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant : alii bonum ingenium contumeliâ accensum esse : multi, quòd jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur : nobis fati cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quàm injuriâ suâ excruciatum ; neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii, quàm Mario traderetur.

85. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, & quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, ne finè causâ hostis populo Rom. fieret : habere eum magnam copiam societatis, amicitiaque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset : quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare ; omne bellum sumi facile, cæterum ægerrumè desinere : non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus, & finem esse : incipere cuivis etiam ignavo licere ; deponi, cùm victores velint : proinde sibi, regnóque suo consuleret : neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret. Ad ea rex fati placidè verba facit : sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri : si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura. Rursus imperator, contra postulata Bocchi, nuncios mittit. Ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo, sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

86. At Marius, uti supra diximus, cupientissimâ plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populis jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati,

power of the noblesse, than before, tho' he was then sufficiently hot. At one time he would censure their conduct separately, at another time he would inveigh against them all in general; saying, that he had quashed their power, and plundered them of the consulship. He would also boast of his own proceedings, which much disquieted them. But the principal object of his attention was, making all necessary preparations for the war. He demanded his legions should have their full complement, and sent for auxiliaries from the princes and states our allies, and principally from Latium, where he ordered every resolute man to attend him, who were all of repute in military affairs, but eminent for no other knowledge; he also persuaded the veterans, who had been dismissed from the service of the state, to enter again into the service. Nor durst the senate, tho' he had by his proceedings incurred their displeasure, deny him any request; but even with pleasure voted him recruits; because they were persuaded the commons would decline serving him, through an unwillingness; and he, by that means, would be incapable of completing his legions, or lose the affection of the people. But they were disappointed in their hopes; so desirous were the commons of attending Marius, every one being flushed with hopes of success, and of gaining an estate by the plunder they should take, and other benefits. Marius had also much fired them by an address. For the decrees being made for what he had desired, he determined to levy recruits, and for that purpose convened the people to animate them in his favour, and conforming to his usual practice, to reflect on the conduct of the noblesse. And he accordingly addressed them to this effect:

87. " I AM convinced, gentlemen, that most of those persons,
 " who make their application to you, that they may be invested with
 " some office in the senate, conduct themselves, when they have
 " gained their ends, in a manner intirely different from their former
 " behaviour. They indeed at first endeavour to oblige you, are sub-
 " missive and civil; but after they are promoted, they no longer stu-
 " dy your interest, and behave themselves coolly. But I vary in my
 " sentiments with regard to this affair. For since the joint interest of
 " the state is far preferable to the consulship or prætorship, it is incum-
 " bent on every one, more attentively to regard it than these offices.
 " Nor am I unacquainted with the tide of concerns in which I am
 " plunged, by your late benevolence. To make all necessary pre-
 " parations for the war, to be moderate in disposing of the public
 " treasure, to oblige those persons whose displeasure one is unwilling
 " to

nobilitati, tum verò multus, atque ferox instare : singulos modò, modò universos lædere : dictitare, sese consulatum ex victis illis quasi spolia cepisse : alia præterea magnifica pro se, & illis dolentia : interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere ; postulare legionibus supplementum : auxilia à populis, & regibus, sociisque accersere : præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerisque militiâ, paucos famâ cognitos accire, & ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abruere audebat : cæterum supplementum etiam lætus decreverat : quia, neque plebi militia volenti, putabatur, & Marius aut belli usum, aut studia vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata : Tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerisque invaserat. Sese quisque prædâ locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum. Alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant : & eos non paulum oratione suâ Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam, omnibus, quæ postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi causâ, simul & nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit ; deinde hõc modo differuit.

87. “ Scio ego, Quirites, plerisque non iisdem artibus imperium
 “ à vobis petere, & postquam adepti sunt, gerere : primò industrios,
 “ supplices, modicos esse : dein per ignaviam, & superbiam ætatem
 “ agere. Sed mihi contrà videtur. Nam, quò universa resp. pluris
 “ est quàm consulatus, aut prætura, eò majore curâ illam administrari,
 “ quàm hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo
 “ beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare, simul & ærario
 “ parcere, cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere ; domi, foris-
 “ que

“ to incur, to enter into the service of the state; to administer do-
 “ mestic and foreign affairs with proper caution; and this must be
 “ done, tho’ I have envy, contention and faction to encounter. All
 “ which difficulties, gentlemen, are beyond comprehension. And
 “ besides this, I have another danger to surmount, namely, making
 “ my conduct agreeable, from which others are free. For their noble
 “ extraction, the conduct of their ancestors, the interest of their
 “ friends and relations, and the great concourse of their dependants,
 “ palliate their misconduct: whereas my dependance is upon my-
 “ self; nor have I any other security. I am also sensible, gentlemen,
 “ that my proceedings are inspected by every one; that the equitable
 “ and the honourable entertain a regard for me, for the services the
 “ state has received from me; but as for the nobility, they will censure
 “ me for the least mistake I shall make in my conduct: so that I am
 “ the more necessitated to use all possible efforts, that your hopes
 “ may not languish, and that they may be disappointed. To be dis-
 “ couraged by no fatigue nor danger, was my principal aim from
 “ my youth: and these I did through a generosity essential to me,
 “ before you made me the object of your favours; nor will I now
 “ decline such proceedings, since I am sufficiently recompensed. It
 “ is a thing attended with no small difficulties, for those to bridle
 “ their authority when invested with it, who to attain it counterfeit
 “ merit. But as I have continually from my youth, exercised my-
 “ self in practising the most honourable qualifications, custom has
 “ made it natural to me. You have nominated me the conductor
 “ of the war against Jugurtha; which proceeding has disconcerted
 “ the schemes of the noblesse. Consider, I desire, gentlemen, whe-
 “ ther it would not be of more service to nominate, in this or
 “ other enterprizes, one of the noblesse the commander, a person
 “ of old extraction, who never served in any campaign? Certainly!
 “ for what can be urged against him? Yes, sufficient arguments can
 “ be brought to prove his incapacity; for he would, when shock’d
 “ and hurried with the public concerns, through ignorance, elect
 “ some of the commonalty for his director in affairs, in which it
 “ was incumbent on him to engage. And so it is a common case,
 “ that he whom you nominate commander is himself necessitated to
 “ have one.

88. “ I am sensible, gentlemen, some after being elected consuls
 “ have read the achievements of their ancestors, and the military in-
 “ structions of the Greeks. Preposterous mortals! For conducting ones
 “ self

“ que omnia curare ; & ea agere inter invidos, occurrentis, factiosos ;
 “ opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus
 “ nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum & affinium opes, multæ
 “ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio adfunt : mihi spes omnes in memet
 “ fitæ, quas necesse est & virtute, & innocentia tutari : Nam alia in-
 “ firma sunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me con-
 “ versa esse, æquos, bonosque favere : quippe benefacta mea reip. pro-
 “ cedunt : nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quò mihi acrius
 “ adnitendum est, uti neque vos capiamini, & illi frustra sint. Ita
 “ ad hoc ætatis à pueritiâ fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta ha-
 “ beam. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, acceptâ
 “ mercede, deferam, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in
 “ potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere :
 “ mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere jam
 “ ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Ju-
 “ gurthâ jussistis : quam rem nobilitas ægerrumne tulit. Quæso, re-
 “ putate cum animis vestris, num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex
 “ illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, ho-
 “ minem veteris prosapiæ, ac multarum imaginum, & nullius sti-
 “ pendii ; scilicet ut in tantâ re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet,
 “ sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque eve-
 “ nit ; uti, quem vos imperare jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium
 “ quærat.

88. “ At ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti sunt, acta
 “ majorum, & Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint ; homines

“ self ought to engage our regard after the person is fixed for the
 “ management of the office ; it is the proir concern it, if you regard the
 “ requisite qualifications ; draw a comparifon, gentlemen, betwixt me
 “ who am called an upstart, and the imperious nobleffe. The things
 “ they have been acquainted with by tradition, or by books, I have
 “ been partly an eye-witnefs of, and have partly conducted myfelf.
 “ The knowledge they have attained by reading, I have acquired by
 “ experience. Now I fubmit it to your judgment to determine,
 “ whether actions or words are preferable. The lownefs of my birth
 “ is the object of their contempt, their ignorance is the object of
 “ mine ; I am cenfured for my fortune, they for their vile practices ;
 “ tho’ in my opinion no diftinction is made by nature in the forma-
 “ tion of man, and the moft refolute are juftly called noble. And
 “ fhould Albinus’s or Betia’s father be afked, whether they would
 “ have me for their descendant or them, what other answer do you
 “ judge they would give, than that it was their pleasure that men of
 “ the greateft merit fhould be their descendants ? But fupposing their
 “ contempt is juft, why do they not alfo defpife their own ancestors,
 “ the original of whose nobility was the practice of laudable quali-
 “ fications ? My promotion is the object of their envy ; why is not
 “ my induftry, my probity, and the dangers to which I expofe
 “ felf alfo the fame, which are the caufe of my advancement ? But men,
 “ whose minds are fired with pride, live as if treating your favours
 “ with the greateft abufe, and yet follicit them, as if they had
 “ conducted their lives with honour. But they are certainly disap-
 “ pointed of their hopes, who think to attain two things of an op-
 “ pofite character, the pleasure which is the result of indolence, and
 “ the prize of merit. And when they address you in an affem-
 “ bly, or in the fenate, they are always conferring the greateft en-
 “ comiums on their ancestors, and think their character is polished
 “ by a rehearsal of their actions ; but it has a quite contrary effect.
 “ For the more eminent their lives were, the more are the characters
 “ of their descendants expofed to cenfure. And in reality this is the
 “ cafe. The glory of each nobleman’s ancestors is as it were a glafs,
 “ wherein their laudable or defpicable qualities appear in their true
 “ light. This, gentlemen, is my deficiency. But I can boast of
 “ things preferable to this, my own merit. Now, obferve how
 “ unequitable their conduct is. The character they ufurp as resulting
 “ to them from the behaviour of others, they will not permit me
 “ to claim, tho’ resulting from my own ; and for this reason, that I
 “ can

“ præpoſteri. Nam gerere, quàm fieri, tempore poſterius, re, atque
 “ uſu prius eſt. Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum ſuperbiâ
 “ me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire, & legere ſolent, eorum
 “ partem vidi, alia egomet geſſi: quæ illi literis, ea ego militando
 “ didici. Nunc vos exiſtimate, facta, an dicta pluris ſint. Contem-
 “ nunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam. Mihi fortuna, illis
 “ probra objectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam, & communem
 “ omnium exiſtumo, ſed fortiſſimum quemque generoſiſſimum eſſe.
 “ Ac ſi jam ex patribus Albin, aut Beſtiæ quæri poſſet, mène, an il-
 “ los ex ſe gigni maluerint: quid reſponſuros creditis, niſi, ſeſe libe-
 “ ros quàm optimos voluiſſe? Quod ſi jure deſpiciunt me; faciant
 “ idem majoribus ſuis; quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit.
 “ Invident honori meo: ergo invident labori, innocentia, periculis
 “ etiam meis: quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verùm homines cor-
 “ rupti ſuperbiâ, ita ætatem agunt, quaſi honores veſtros contem-
 “ nant: ita hos petunt, quaſi honeſtè vixerint. Næ illi falſi ſunt,
 “ qui diverſiſſimas res pariter expectant, ignavia voluptatem, & præ-
 “ mia virtutis. Atque etiam cùm apud vos, aut in ſenatu verba fa-
 “ ciunt, plerâque oratione majores ſuos extollunt; eorum fortia facta
 “ memorando clariores ſeſe putant: quod contrà eſt. Nam, quantò
 “ vita illorum præclarior, tantò horum ſocordia flagitioſior. Et pro-
 “ ſectò ita ſe res habet, majorum gloria poſteris lumen eſt; neque
 “ bona, neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego in-
 “ opiam patior, Quirites. Verùm id, quod multò præclarius eſt,
 “ meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quàm iniqui ſint.
 “ Quod ex alienâ virtute ſibi arrogant, id mihi ex meâ non conce-

“ can deduce my genealogy from no early times, and that my nobi-
 “ lity is of no long continuance ; which argument of theirs is of no
 “ consequence ; since to be the founder of a family, is preferable to
 “ being a scandal to that founded by the laudable conduct of an-
 “ cestors.

89. “ I AM convinced, if they are inclined to answer me, they
 “ will find a flow of elaborate genteel language. But, since upon
 “ my being invested with this important office through your favour,
 “ they inveigh against my conduct and your proceedings in every
 “ place, I determined to answer them, lest my modesty should be
 “ thought to argue my guilt. For my character is not affected by
 “ their invectives, in my opinion, since if their assertions are true, it
 “ must necessarily redound to my credit ; if false, my life and conduct
 “ obviate their reception. But as your proceedings are censured, who
 “ have invested me with the highest honours, and intrusted me with
 “ concerns of the greatest moment, reflect with yourselves not once,
 “ but often, whether your actions are consonant with your intenti-
 “ ons. I am incapable of making you confide in me, by boasting
 “ of the images of my ancestors, their triumphs and consulships.
 “ But if required, I can boast of the military honours which were
 “ given me to retaliate my services, such as spears, a standard,
 “ trappings for a horse, and of the wounds I have received in re-
 “ pulsing the enemies of the state. These are my images, these my
 “ nobility, to which I was not, as they, born heir ; but which I acquired
 “ by encountering and surmounting dangers. My words are not la-
 “ boured, nor will they add a lustre to my actions, for they already
 “ appear in their just light. A tide of eloquence is requisite to pal-
 “ liate and put a gloss on their male practices ; nor did I ever let
 “ the Grecians studies engage my attention ; for I thought it needless
 “ to apply myself to that which did not furnish my instructors with
 “ virtue. But I have applied myself to things which would greatly
 “ benefit the state ; to charge the enemy, to watch, to be apprehensive
 “ of nothing but disgrace ; to bear the hot and cold weather, to rest
 “ upon the ground, and to support myself under famine and embar-
 “ rassments : With these instructions shall I inspire my soldiers. Nor
 “ will I use any severity of discipline, indulge myself ; or glory in
 “ the fatigue of my men. This command is serviceable and easy.
 “ But to oblige the forces to be subservient to a severity of discipline,
 “ whilst

“ dunt : scilicet quia imagines non habeo, & quia mihi nova nobili-
 “ tas est : quam certè peperisse melius est, quàm acceptam corrupisse.

89. “ EQUIDEM ego non ignoro, si jam mihi respondere velint,
 “ abunde illis facundam, & compositam orationem fore. Sed in
 “ maximo vestro beneficio, cùm omnibus locis me, vósque male-
 “ dictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in consci-
 “ entiam duceret. Nam me quidem ex animi sententiâ nulla oratio
 “ lædere potest. Quippe vera, necesse est bene prædicet : falsam
 “ vita, morésque mei superant. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accu-
 “ santur, qui mihi summum honorem, & maxumum negotium im-
 “ posuistis : etiam atque etiam reputate, num id pœnitendum sit. Non
 “ possum, fidei causâ, imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus
 “ majorum meorum ostentare : at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum,
 “ phaleras, alia dona militaria, præterea cicatrices advorso corpore.
 “ Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut
 “ illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus, & periculis quæfivi.
 “ Non sunt composita verba mea. Parum id facio. Ipsa se virtus
 “ satis ostendit : illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant.
 “ Neque litteras Græcas didici ; parum placebat eas discere, quippe
 “ quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multò op-
 “ tuma reip. doctus sum ; hostis ferire, præsidia agitare ; nihil me-
 “ tuere, nisi turpem famam ; hyemem, & æstatem juxtà pati ; humi
 “ requiescere ; eodem tempore inopiam, & laborem tolerare. His
 “ ego præceptis milites hortabor : neque illos artè colam, me opu-
 “ lenter ; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est
 “ utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cùm tute per mollitiem
 “ agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, hoc est, dominum esse, non impera-
 “ torem

“ whilst you indulge your own luxurious and indolent practices, is
 “ to judge yourself the master, not the substitute. ’Twas this, and
 “ a constant practice of the same conduct, which enhanced the cha-
 “ racter of your ancestors, and the state ; on which our noblesse re-
 “ lying, who even decline imitating such examples, make me the
 “ imitator of their laudable conduct, the object of their contempt,
 “ and don’t solicit for the offices in your disposal, not as due to their
 “ merit, but claim them as their right. But those imperious mor-
 “ tals greatly err in their persuasions ; for their ancestors only give
 “ them what they were capable of leaving, wealth, images, and
 “ their own honourable memory. They did not bequeath to them
 “ their laudable qualifications ; nor was it possible for them to do it,
 “ since those are neither disposed of nor accepted.

90. “ They censure me as rude and ungenteel, because I have not
 “ a polite taste in making an entertainment, and have not a player
 “ or cook to whom I pay a greater salary than to my steward ; which
 “ deficiencies, gentlemen, I very readily confess. For my father, and
 “ other eminent men have informed me, that politeness is the pro-
 “ perty of a woman, but industry that of a man ; and that it is in-
 “ cumbent on the resolute to possess a greater share of glory than
 “ riches ; that military accoutrements, not magnificent furniture, is an
 “ ornament to their character. Let them therefore ever regard that,
 “ which so engages their pleasure and attention ; let them riot and
 “ debauch ; let their method of living, when old, be consonant with
 “ that observed by them when young, namely, living in excess
 “ and pampering the body, that slave of death, the meanest part.
 “ Let us take the fatigue of industry which they condemn, but
 “ which is to us far preferable to their banquets. But they will
 “ not accept this proposal. For when those most depraved mortals
 “ have blemished their character, by inuring themselves to the in-
 “ dulgence of the most horrid vices, they usurp the rewards which
 “ the brave merit. Thus, what is inconsistent with all equity, the
 “ practice of luxury, indolence, the vilest qualifications are not in the
 “ least prejudicial to the possessors of them ; tho’ they at the same
 “ time prejudice the unstained republic. And having now given
 “ them an answer sufficient to confute their false assertions with re-
 “ gard to my character, but too narrow to set all their vile indul-
 “ gences in a true light, I shall hint a little on the present juncture
 “ of affairs. And in the first place, with regard to Numidia, enter-
 “ tain great hopes, for you have now discharged avarice, ignorance,
 “ and

“ torem. Hæc, atque talia majores vestri faciundo, sēque, et rem-
 “ publicam celebravere. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis mo-
 “ ribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; & omnis honores, non ex
 “ merito, sed quasi debitos, à vobis repetit. Cæterum homines fu-
 “ perbiſſimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis
 “ reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram. Virtutem
 “ non reliquere; neque poterant. Ea sola neque datur dono, neque
 “ accipitur.

90. “ SORDIDUM me, & incultis moribus aiunt; quia parum scitè
 “ convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii
 “ coquum, quàm villicum, habeo. Quæ mihi lubet confiteri, Qui-
 “ rites. Nam & ex parente meo, & ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi,
 “ munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibûsque bonis
 “ oportere plus gloriæ, quàm divitiarum esse; arma, non supellecti-
 “ lem, decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum æstumant,
 “ id semper faciant: ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi
 “ senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri, & turpiſſimæ parti
 “ corporis: sudorem, pulverem, & alia talia relinquant nobis, qui-
 “ bus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verùm non ita est. Nam, ubi se om-
 “ nibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpiſſimi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum
 “ eunt. Ita injustiſſimè luxuria & ignavia, peſſimæ artes, illis, qui
 “ coluere eas, nihil efficiunt, reip. innoxia cladi sunt. Nunc, quo-
 “ niam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, re-
 “ spondi: pauca de rep. loquar. Primum omnium de Numidiâ bo-
 “ num habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quæ ad hoc tempus Jugur-
 “ tham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, super-
 “ biam.

“ and haughtiness, which have been body-guards to Jugurtha. We
 “ have indeed troops there acquainted with the place, but rather stren-
 “ uous in the prosecution of the war than successful. For the most
 “ considerable part of it has been ruined by the avarice of our generals,
 “ or temerity. Do you therefore, who are capable of bearing arms,
 “ support my endeavours, and maintain the cause of the state ; nor
 “ let any one’s apprehensions hurry him to dread ill consequences
 “ from the miscarriages of others, or the pride of their commanders.
 “ I will be your conductor in a march, or in a battle ; encounter,
 “ in concert with you, all dangers, and always conduct myself to-
 “ wards you, in the manner I behave to my self. And indeed, by
 “ the favour of heaven, all things are prepared for our possession,
 “ victory, plunder, and honour ; yet was there no prospect of
 “ those, it is incumbent on each well-disposed citizen to maintain
 “ the rights of his country. For indolence perpetuates the memory
 “ of no man ; nor did ever any parent wish immortality to his sons,
 “ but rather a glorious conduct in this life. My address should
 “ have been continued, had I imagined words can inspire cowards
 “ with resolution ; but the intrepid I have sufficiently animated.”

91. MARIUS sensible how the minds of the people were
 flushed by his address, ships all the provision, money, arms, and
 others necessaries, with all expedition, and orders his lieutenant-general,
 A. Manlius, to embark with them. He in the mean time levies
 recruits, not as it is customary, nor out of the several classes, but vo-
 lunteers, most of whom were of the meanest class. This some are
 inclined to believe he did, through an incapacity of raising better
 troops ; but others say, through a desire of attaching the affections
 of the people more firmly to him ; because those persons had much
 enhanced his character ; and the most indigent are the most proper
 for him, who is fir’d with a thirst of command, since they entertain no
 regard for their own property, as being destitute of every possession,
 and judging any thing laudable that is profitable. After this Ma-
 rius embarks, with a more considerable body of troops than was de-
 creed him by the senate, and in a few days arrives at Utica, where
 P. Rutilius the lieutenant-general delivered up to him the command
 of the army, Metellus not caring to approach Marius, being appre-
 hensive of seeing those things he so impatiently heard.

92. But

“ biam. Dein exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis
 “ strenuus, quàm felix. Nam magna pars ejus avaritiâ, aut teme-
 “ ritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris est ætas,
 “ adnitimini mecum, & capeffite remp. neque quemquam ex cala-
 “ mitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbiâ metus ceperit. Ego-
 “ met in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, & socius periculi vobis-
 “ cum adero ; méque, vósque in omnibus rebus juxtâ geram. Et pro-
 “ fectò, diis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus :
 “ quæ si dubia, aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reip. subvenire
 “ decet. Etenim nemo ignaviâ immortalis factus : neque quisquam
 “ parens liberis, ut æterni forent, optavit : magis, uti boni, honesti-
 “ que vitam exigent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem
 “ verba adderent. Nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.

91. HUSCEMODI oratione habitâ, Marius postquam plebis ani-
 mos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque uti-
 libus navis onerat. Cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet.
 Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus,
 sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii
 inopiâ bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quòd ab
 eo genere celebratus, auctusque erat ; & homini potentiam quærenti
 egentissimus quisque opportunissimus ; cui neque sua curæ quippe
 quæ nullæ sunt & omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Ma-
 rius cum aliquantò majore numero, quàm decretum erat, in Africam
 profectus, paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur à
 P. Rutilio legato. Nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne vi-
 deret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

92. BUT the consul having with his recruits compleated the complement of the legions, and the battalions of the auxiliaries, marches into a fertile country, where there was much spoil ; which he distributed amongst his men. After this he assaults the fortresses and towns which were not very well fortified or garrisoned. He also had some engagements in several places, but very trifling. The new levies, in the mean time, not apprehensive of any thing, thro' the small fatigue which attended the service, saw those who fled, either killed or made prisoners ; but that the most resolute were the most secure ; that arms were the guard of their liberty, their country, parents, and all other things, and were the only means to enhance their characters and fortunes. By this the recruits and the veterans were soon united and equally resolute. But the kings, being informed of the arrival of Marius, separated their army, and retired into places almost inaccessible. Jugurtha had projected this stratagem, entertaining hopes of attacking them at advantage, when divided ; thinking the Romans, as is the usual practice of men, when they were no longer apprehensive of an attack, would be under a more loose discipline, and under little or no command.

93. WHEN Metellus, in the mean time arrived at Rome, he was unexpectedly received with all imaginable expressions of joy, the commonalty and the senate having banished envy, entertaining the same regard for him. But Marius, considering the enemy's situation, and his own, very attentively and cautiously, was sensible what would benefit or prejudice him. Accordingly he attended all the motions of the two princes, rendered all their projects and stratagems abortive, kept his men under strict discipline, and would not permit the enemy to render themselves secure. He had oft charged the Getulians and Jugurtha, who were retiring with the booty they had taken from the confederates, and had at some small distance from Cirta disarmed the king. But being sensible that those methods had only the face of advantage, and that they were insufficient to terminate the war, he determined to invest with his forces all the towns, which by their situation, or their number of inhabitants, were serviceable to Jugurtha in defeating our designs, since the enemy, if he permitted it, would be either dispossessed of those forts, or give them battle. For he had oft received dispatches from Bocchus, wherein he acquainted him, that the object of his present desires was the Roman amity, and that Marius need not be apprehensive of his committing any hostilities. But whether he used this pretence, that
he

92. SED consul, expletis legionibus, cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem, & prædâ onustum proficiscitur. Omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella, & oppida naturâ & viris parum munita adgreditur: prælia multa, cæterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites finè metu pugnæ adesse: videre fugientis capi, aut occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum: armis libertatem, patriam parentésque, & alii omnia tegi, gloriam, atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veterésque coaluere, & virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu laxiùs, licentiùsque futuros.

93. METELLUS interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam lætissimis animis excipitur, plebi, patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxtà carus. Sed Marius impigre, prudentérque suorum, & hostium res pariter attendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contrà esset: explorare itinera regum; consilia, & insidias eorum antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque & Gætulos, & Jugurtham, ex fociis nostris prædas agentes, sæpe adgressus in itinere fuderat, ipsùmque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirtâ armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modò, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quæ viris, aut loco pro hostibus, & advorsum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire: Ita Jugurtham aut præfidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios sæpe ad eum miserat, velle populi Rom. amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaveritne, quò improvisus gravior

he might, surprizing him, charge him more vigorously, or was unused, through his inconstancy, to fix his resolutions concerning war or peace, is disputable.

94. But the consul, pursuant to his resolution, invests the towns and forts ; some he carried sword in hand, others by menaces or persuasions. He at first only assaulted inconsiderable places, imagining, that Jugurtha, for the defence of his subjects, would engage him. But when he found he was far distant from him, and other concerns engaged his attention ; he judg'd it advisable to invest the more considerable towns, and which were capable of making a vigorous defence. Now there was amidst a great desert, a town called Capsa, founded, as they say, by the Libyan Hercules. Jugurtha imposed no tax on the inhabitants, who were under a mild government, and for that reason were judged to be steady in their allegiance ; and the place was much more fortified by its natural situation, than by art, men and arms. For omitting the adjoining parts, all the country was an uncultivated dry desert, abounding with serpents ; who, as other wild beasts, are rendered the fiercer by continuing without food ; and the nature of serpents is such, tho' of itself pernicious, that want of water fires it with more anger. Marius was extremely desirous of taking this town, being both of advantage to him in carrying on the war, and difficult to be mastered ; as also, because the carrying of Thala had added great lustre to the character of Metellus, a town much like Capsa in point of situation and force ; but at Thala there were springs at some small distance from the place ; whereas there was only one at Capsa, and that within the town, constantly flowing ; as for the other water they used, it was rain they preserved in proper receptacles : and this want of water here, and in the other inland parts of Africa, which were but little cultivated, less distressed the inhabitants, because milk, and the flesh of wild beasts was their principal food ; nor did they regard salt, or any other incentives of the stomach : they eat only to avert hunger and thirst, nor did they indulge luxury and fancy.

95. The consul, upon this having attentively weighed every thing, relies, I imagine, in this enterprize, on the favour of heaven ; for he was incapable, by any project he should form, of securing his forces, in encountering so many difficulties ; for his magazine of corn was but inconsiderable, since grazing more than tillage engrossed

accederet, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

94. SED consul, uti statuerat, oppida, castellâque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando, avertere ab hostibus. Ac primò mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse, & aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora, & magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum, atque valens, nomine Capsa: cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, & ob ea fidelissimi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non mœnibus modò, & armis atque viris, verum etiam multò magis locorum asperitate. Nam præter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopiâ cibi acrior: ad hoc, natura serpentium ipsa perniciofa, siti magis, quàm aliâ re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur: & Metellus oppidum Thalam magnâ gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm, munitumque; nisi quòd apud Thalam non longè à mœnibus aliquot fontes erant. Capsenses unâ modò, atque eâ intrâ oppidum jugi aquâ, cæterâ pluviam utebantur. Id ibique, & in omni Africâ, quæ procul à mari incultius agebat, eò facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte, & ferinâ carne vescebantur, & neque falem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant. Cibus illis advorsum famem, & sitim, non libidini neque luxuriæ erat.

95. IGITUR consul, omnibus exploratis, credo diis fretus, nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat: quippe
etiam

engrossed the regard of the Numidians, and the corn which was in the country, was, by an order of the king, deposited in the granaries in the garrisoned towns. The ground also wanted rain, and the corn had been got in long before ; for summer was now near elapsed. However, after considering the disadvantages he met with, he very well furnished his army with things necessary for their subsistence ; he committed all the cattle he had before taken to the care of the auxiliary cavalry to drive ; detaches A. Manlius his lieutenant-general with some of the light-armed infantry, to Laris, where he had deposited the provisions, and the money wherewith his army was to be paid, telling him, that he should shortly go there to ravage. Thus palliating his intent, he marches to the river Tana.

96. But in the march he gave an equal number of cattle to each company of infantry and troop of horse ; and applied himself to have leathern bottles formed of their skins, that they might recompense for their want of corn, and to prepare, whilst the people were unacquainted with his design, the things which would shortly be requisite ; so that by the sixth day, when he arrived at the river, they had got a considerable number of leathern bottles. Then encamping, and making some slight works, he orders his men to take refreshment, and to prepare for marching at sun-set ; and leaving all their baggage, to load the beasts of carriage and themselves with water only. Then, at the time agreed upon, he decamps, marches whilst the night continues, and encamps the next morning. This method of marching he also observed the second night, and on the third, before break of day, he gained a hill about two miles distant from Capsa, where he halts, and continues with his army, with all possible secrecy. When it was day, the Numidians, apprehensive of no enemy, went out in great companies from the town ; upon which he unexpectedly orders his cavalry, with a body of light-armed infantry, to hasten with all possible expedition to Capsa, and force the gates. These he follows in haste ; nor would he permit his men to plunder. When the enemies were sensible of this, they were confounded and intimidated with so sudden a surprize ; and as the enemy was in possession of some of the inhabitants, they perceived they were necessitated to surrender. But tho' they surrendered, the Romans burnt the town, slaughtered the Numidian youths, and disposed of the

etiam frumenti inopiâ tentabatur, quòd Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis, quàm arvo, student, & quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant: ager autem aridus, & frugum vacuus eâ tempestate: nam æstatis extremum erat tamen pro rei copiâ satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus præda fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium, & commeatum locaverat, ire jubet: dicítque se prædabundum post paucos dies eòdem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

96. CÆTERUM in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualiter distribuerat: & ex coriis ut res uti fierent, curabat: simul & inopiam frumenti lenire, & ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent: denique sexto die, cùm ad flumen ventum est maxuma vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus farcinis abjectis, aquâ modò seque, & jumenta onerare: Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur: noctemque totam itinere facto confedit; idem proxumâ facit. Dein tertiâ multò ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumultuosum, ab Capsâ non ampliùs duùm millium intervallo: ibique, quàm occultissimè potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies cœpit; & Numidæ nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repentè omnem equitatum, & cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, & portas obsidere jubet; deinde ipse intentus properè sequi, neque milites prædari finire. Quæ postquam oppidani cognoverè; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coegere, uti deditionem facerent. Cæterùm oppidum incensum. Numidæ puberes interfecti; alii omnes

venum-

the rest ; Marius also distributed the spoil amongst his men. This proceeding, tho' inconsistent with the right of nations and war, was not the result of an avaritious or cruel principle, but the consul was necessitated to act so by this consideration, that the town much benefited Jugurtha, and was of difficult access ; and that the inhabitants were unsteady, inconstant, and not to be brought to terms by favours or menaces.

97. WHEN Marius had compassed this design, a design of such great moment, without prejudicing his army, tho' he was before a person of a great and glorious character, he now attained an eminent, an illustrious one, and all his proceedings, tho' in themselves indifferent, were judged to be laudable conduct. His men being also under no severe discipline, and enriched with the spoil of the enemy, revered him as the deity which the Numidians thought he was ; and, in fine, both the allies and the enemy believed him either a God, or conducted by heaven. But the consul, after the ruin of Capsa, advances against other towns ; some of which, being for sometime defended by the inhabitants, he carries by assault, but most of them being quitted by the people, who apprehended the same misfortunes as those which had attended the Capsians, he fired them. Thus all are plunged in sorrow and harrassed with murders. In fine, having carried many towns, and the generality of them without the loss of a man, he resolves to encounter another danger, which tho' not resembling the expedition against Capsa, was no less difficult to surmount. Now there was at a little distance from the river Mulucha, the limits of Bocchus's and Jugurtha's dominions, a plain wherein there was a rocky mountain, fortified with a small castle, which was of vast circumference, and very high, with only one narrow path up to it : for it was naturally so steep on all sides, that one would have imagined it had been rendered so by art. Against this, Marius used all his efforts, because it was the king's treasury ; and compassed his design rather accidentally than through conduct. For the fort was well garisoned, had a magazine abundantly furnished with arms and corn, and there was also a spring in it ; besides the ramparts, bastions, and other works of that nature, added to the difficulty there was in carrying it. The path up to it was exceeding strait, intrenched with precipices. The vineæ, which were managed with great danger, were of none effect : for when they had somewhat advanced, fire or heavy stones ruined them.

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venumdati, præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritiâ, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, antè neque beneficio, neque metu coerci.

97. POSTQUAM tantam rem Marius finè ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus, & clarus antea, major, atque clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene cōsulta in virtutem trahebantur. Milites modesto imperio habiti, simul & locupletes, ad cœlum ferre: Numidæ magis quàm mortalem, timere: postremò focii, atque hostes credere, illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut duorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergīt: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit: plura, deserta propter Capsensium miseras, igni corrumpit. Luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eâdem asperitate, quâ Capsensium, cæterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longè à flumine Muluchâ, quod Jugurthæ, Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter cæteram planiciem mons saxeus, mediocri castello, satis patens, immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura, velut opere, atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summâ vi capere intendit: sed ea res forte, quàm consilio melius gesta. Nam castello virorum, atque armorum satis magna vis, & frumenti, & fons aquæ; aggeribus, turribusque, & aliis machinationibus locus importunus. Iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. Nam cum eæ paulò processerant,

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igni,

The men were incapable of continuing before their works through the unevenness of the ground ; nor were those who conducted themselves under the vineæ, destitute of danger. The most resolute of the army were either killed or wounded, and the rest were disconcerted with apprehensions.

98. AFTER Marius had continued here many days, incapable of mastering the fort, he was fluctuating in his mind, whether to desist from his enterprize, wherein he had met as yet with no success, or stay till fortune presented him with a more favourable opportunity, as she had often done. Whilst these thoughts for some time employed his mind, a Ligurian, a private centinel in one of the auxiliary companies, going out of the camp to fetch water, accidentally perceived some snails creeping amongst the stones, not far distant from the quarter of the castle which was opposite to the besiegers ; and when he had taken some few of them, through a desire of getting more, he gradually advanced near the summit of the mountain ; where finding no disturbance, through a curiosity essential to mankind, of knowing what he is unacquainted with, he observes every thing around him. There accidentally was in that place a large oak tree, which grew out of the rock, whose bole was a little bent downwards ; but then bending again, it rose to a great height, as the produce of the earth has a natural tendency upwards. The centinel sometimes supporting himself by the branches of the oak, sometimes by the prominent pieces of the rock, surveys the plain of the castle ; for all the Numidians were employed in repulsing the besiegers. Having made all necessary observations, he returns the same way, not so rashly as he had ascended, but with great circumspection and caution. When he had got down, he makes application to Marius as soon as possible, informs him of his proceedings, and desires him to assault the fort in that quarter, promising that he would conduct them, and first encounter the danger. Upon this information, Marius dispatches some of his attendants along with the Ligurian to view the place, who gave their opinion of it according to their different sentiments ; some judging it near impracticable, others practicable with little difficulty. The consul, however, was flush'd with hopes of success, and thereupon elects five of the most active of his trumpeters, and four centurians to attend them as a guard, all whom he orders to be directed by the Ligurian, and fixes upon the following day for the execution of the project.

igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur. Milites neque pro opere confitere, propter iniquitatem loci: neque inter vineas finè periculo administrare: optumus quisque cadere, aut fauciari; cæteris metus augeri.

98. AT Marius, multis diebus, & laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitterétne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, quâ sæpe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ cùm multos dies, noctésque æstuans agitare, fortè quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod advorsum præliantibus erat, animadvertit inter faxa repentes cochleas: quarum cùm unam, atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim propè ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi, animum vortit. Et fortè in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter faxa, paululùm modò prona, dein flexa, atque aucta in altitudinem, quò cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modò, modò eminentibus faxis nifus Ligus, castelli planiciem perscribit; quòd cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eodém regreditur, non temere, ut ascenderat, sed tentans omnia, et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium properè adit: acta edocet: hortatur, ab eâ parte, quâ ipse descenderet, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum ex præsentibus misit: quorum, uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem, aut facilem nunciavere. Consul animus tamen paulùm arrectus. Itaque ex copiâ tubicinum & cornicium, quinque numero quàm velocissimos delegit, & cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnisque Liguri parare jubet: & ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

99. THE time appointed for the intended execution being come, the centinel, with all things requisite for such an enterprize, goes to that part of the rock: but the centurions had, according to his directions, appalled themselves in a different manner, and changed their arms; for they were bareheaded and barefoot, that it might facilitate their climbing, and give them a clearer view of every thing; and as for their swords and shields they hung them on their backs. The shields were formed of leather, according to the Numidian fashion, that they might carry them with more ease, and that supposing they should hit the rock, they might not sound. Their conductor was the Ligurian, who tied cords to the rocks, or old boles of trees, which grew out of it here and there, to render the access more easy to the men. When the unevenness of the path intimidated them, he would assist them in their climbing, by lifting them up. Where the access was more rugged than common, he obliged them to quit their arms, and to mount before him, and then followed himself, bringing their arms with him. And those places which gave room to doubt of a passage he tried; so that by passing them over and over, and then ascending, animated the men to follow him. Having surmounted many difficulties, they at last arrive at the fort, which was unguarded by the enemy on that quarter, as all the garison, as usual, were engaged in observing the proceedings of the Romans. Marius, having received intelligence of the conduct of the Ligurian, tho' he had retained them all the day under apprehensions of an assault, now animating his men, sallied out from under the vineæ, and having formed into a testudo, made an attack at a distance, and intimidated the enemy with his machines, bowmen and slingers. But the Numidians having oft before ruined the vineæ, by burning them, did not sustain the efforts of the enemy within their walls, but were constantly drawn up before them, inveighing against the Romans, and calling Marius a madman, menacing, that our men should be Jugurtha's slaves; and entertained great hopes of defeating the enemy from their advantageous situation. In the mean time, whilst the Romans were warmly engaged with the enemies, who made as vigorous a resistance, one fighting for glory and empire, the other for their security; the trumpets unexpectedly sounded in the rear of the enemy. Upon this the women and children, who had hurried to be acquainted with the cause of this alarm, first made off; then those troops nearest the wall fled, and were followed by the others armed or unarmed. The Romans seeing this, pressed them more briskly
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99. SED ubi ex præcepto tempus visum; paratis, compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Cæterum illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma, ornatumque mutaverant, capite, atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus, nifusque per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii, & scuta; verum ea Numidica, ex coriis, ponderis gratiâ: simul & offensa quò leviùs streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus, saxa, & si quæ vetustate radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites faciliùs ascenderent: interdum timidos insolentiâ itineris levare manu: ubi paulò asperior adscensus erat, singulos præ se inermes mittere: dein ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quæ dubia nifui videbantur, potissimum tentare: ac sæpiùs eadem adscendens, ac descendens, dein, statim digrediens, cæteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu, multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab eâ parte: quòd omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, advorsum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit; quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum verò cohortatus milites, & ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine actâ succedere, & simul hostem tormentis, sagittariisque, & funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subverfis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies, noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis; ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim, Romanis omnibus, hostibusque prælio intentis, magnâ vi utrimque, pro gloriâ atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente à tergo signa canere: ac primò mulieres, & pueri, qui visum procefferant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat; postremò cuncti armati, inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eò acriùs Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo fauciare, dein super

than ever, defeated them, and only wounded the greatest part of them, running over the dead bodies with all expedition to the walls, all being thirsty of honour ; nor could the spoil induce them to relinquish it. Thus the temerity of the consul being accidentally regulated, made even a piece of misconduct redound to his honour.

100. L. SYLLA his quæstor, in the mean time, arrived in the camp with a considerable body of troops under his command ; the person whom Marius had left to levy the forces which the Latins and our allies were to send. But as this affair has obliged us to mention this man, I think it not improper to hint a little on his character, for he will not any more engage our attention ; and L. Sisenna, who has wrote his history more exactly and accurately than any one, has not been too impartial in his account. Sylla was descended of a Patrician family, which was, through the indolence and inactivity of his ancestors, almost extinct. He was carefully instructed in the Grecian and Latin literature ; had a daring soul, regarded pleasure, but made glory his darling desire. He would, when not engaged in any concern, indulge his sensual pleasures ; but would never suffer them to divert him from the management of his affairs, only in the marriage he contracted, he might have conducted himself more honourably. He had a flow of eloquence, was artful and affable, and could incredibly palliate his real intentions ; he was generous to excess, more particularly with regard to his money. And tho' he was more successful than any before the civil commotions commenced, yet his industry never would admit of his riches attaining the superiority. Nay, it has been a controverted point, whether his resolution was greater than his fortune. And I am incapable of determining whether shame or sorrow would more affect me, should I enter upon a relation of his after-conduct.

101. WHEN Sylla, as we have before observed, arrived in Africa, and went to Marius's camp with the forces under his command ; and tho' he was before unacquainted with the military science, he was rendered, in a few campaigns, the most eminent in the army. He also civilly addressed his troops. To those who solicited his favours, he gave them with all imaginary pleasure, and voluntarily presented them to others, who did not request them, declining the acceptance of any himself ; but if he had accepted any, he would apply himself more attentively to retaliate them than to repay a debt ; tho' he never desired

occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic fortè correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpâ invenit.

100. CÆTERUM, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quæstor, cum magno equitatu in castra venit, qui uti ex Latio, & à fociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit; idoneum visum est, de naturâ cultûque ejus paucis dicere. Neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi fumus: & L. Sisenna optumè, & diligentissumè omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familiâ propè jam extinctâ majorum ignaviâ, litteris Græcis, atque Latinis juxtâ, atque doctissumè eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quòd de uxore potuit honestiùs consuli: facundus, callidus, & amicitia facilis: ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxumè pecuniæ largitor: atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, nunquam super industriam fortuna fuit: multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset. Nam, postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat an pigeat differere.

101. IGITUR Sulla, uti suprà dictum est, postquam in Africam, atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea & ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benignè appellare: multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere; sed ea properantiùs, quàm æs mutuum, reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere: magis id laborare, ut illi quàm plurimi deberent;

fired any acknowledgement from others, but made it the principal object of his study to attach them to him by all possible obligations. He would jest with the most groveling person in the army, or debate with them on affairs of moment. He was a constant attendant of his men in their intrenchments, marches, and upon duty; nor did he, as is generally the result of a depraved ambition, endeavour to attenuate the character of the consul, or even of a private centinel of merit. The things he would not permit were those, namely, that the counsel of another person should be more serviceable than his, and that any one should be more active than he; nor were there many who were superior to him in these respects. Which conduct induced Marius, and the soldiers to entertain a great regard for him.

102. BUT the king, having been dispossessed of Capsa, and other fortified places, which were of great service to him in the war, together with great treasure, deputed messengers to Bocchus, to desire him to march into Numidia with all expedition; for an opportunity presented itself, wherein they might engage the enemy. But this having no effect, and being sensible how fluctuating he was in his mind concerning the measures he should take, whether pacific or hostile; he, according to his former practice, induces his ministers by bribes to favour his design, and promises Bocchus a third of the dominions of Numidia, if they should oblige the Romans to quit Africa, or he was permitted to acquiesce in the entire possession of his kingdom, when the war was terminated. The Moor allured by this promise, marches to Jugurtha with a very considerable army. The armies upon their junction charge Marius, as he was marching into winter quarters, tho' day had not a tenth part of its continuance to appear, imagining they should be guarded by the approaching night, if defeated; and if they should have the advantage, would not be prevented by it, from pursuing their victory, since they were acquainted with every part of the country; but that the Romans, on the contrary, let victory fall on either side, would reap but small advantage, by reason of the night. Wherefore, as soon as the Romans had well received intelligence of the approach of the kings, the enemy attack'd them, even before our troops could range themselves in proper order, or get the baggage together: in fine, before a signal could be given, or any officer command them to charge, the Moorish and Getulian cavalry, not regularly, or with any uniformity, but in separate bodies, which had been accidentally formed, press violently on
our

berent ; joca atque seria cum humillumis agere. In operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse : neque interim, quod ambitio prava solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam lœdere : tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati : plerisque antevenire. Quibus rebus, & artibus brevî Mario, militibusque carissimus factus.

102. AT Jugurtha postquam oppidum Capsam, aliisque locos munitos, & sibi utilis, simul & magnam pecuniam amiserat ; ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, quàm primùm in Numidiam copias adduceret : prælii faciendi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli, atque pacis rationes trahere : rursus, ut antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit : ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ tertiam partem, si aut Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magnâ multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita, amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hyberna proficiscentem, vix decimâ parte die reliquâ invadunt, rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore ; & si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant : contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit : & ipsi hostes aderant, & prius quàm exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique, antèquam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri, atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors con-

our men. They were put into disorder by this unexpected charge ; yet flush'd with their former fortitude, they hurried to their arms, or averted the efforts of the enemy from those who were. Some mounting their horses, advanced against them ; and the engagement rather resembled a fight with a company of robbers, than armies ; the Romans were independent, under no discipline, the cavalry joining in with the infantry : the enemy, during this confusion, slaughtered, maimed and surrounded those who were resolutely fighting in the rear, nor was their fortitude, or arms, a competent guard ; because the number of the enemy was more considerable and encompassed them in every quarter. In fine, the veteran Romans, and the new recruits, if an opportunity presented, or by accident, formed themselves into orbs ; and defending themselves by this means on all sides, and being conveniently marshalled, they sustained the efforts of the enemy.

103. NOR was Marius dejected in this present intricate juncture, but continued his resolution as before, and with his own squadron, composed rather of the most intrepid, than of friends, he runs to all quarters ; sometimes supports his men in disorder, and then breaks in upon the crouds of the enemy, and benefits his army as much as possible ; since it was impracticable for him, in this great hurry, to conduct himself as a general. And tho' night came upon them, the armies were no less vigorous in their attacks ; and according to the orders of the princes, persuading themselves that night would favour them, they pressed them more warmly ; which Marius perceiving, he enters upon those measures, which were requisite in this juncture ; and accordingly possesses himself of two hills, that lay near one another ; one of which was abundantly supplied with water by a spring, which was in it, tho' too small to encamp upon : the other was a very proper place for fixing his camp, since the greatest part of it was encompassed with high precipices, and only required some trifling works for its defence. However, he commands Sulla to continue on the hill where the spring was, during the night, with the cavalry, whilst he gradually forms his dispersed troops into one body, (the kings being now as much confused as they) and after he had drawn his forces together, he retires to the hill with all possible expedition. The princes being by these measures necessitated to desist from the engagement, because of the advantage our men had gained, did not permit their troops to retreat to a considerable distance ; but investing the

globaverat, in nostros incurrunt. Qui omnes trepidi improvise metu, attamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant : pars equos ascendere, obviam hostibus ire : pugna latrocinio magis, quam praelio similis fieri : sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti, cadere alios, alios obtruncare : multos, contra adversos acerrumè pugnantes ab tergo circumvenire : neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere ; quia hostes numero plures, & undique circumfusi erant : denique Romani veteres, novique, & ob ea, scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere : atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti, & instructi, hostium vim sustentabant.

103. NEQUE in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus, aut magis quàm antea, demisso animo fuit ; sed cum turmâ suâ, quam ex fortissimis magis, quàm familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim : ac modò laborantibus suis succurrere ; modò hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere manu : consulere militibus, quoniam imperitare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jàmque dies consumtus erat, cùm tamen barbari nihil remittere ; atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acriùs instare. Tum Marius ex copiâ rerum consilium trahit : atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat. Quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat : alter usui opportunus, quia magnâ parte editus, & præceps, pauca munimenta egebat. Cæterùm apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paulatim dispersos milites, neque minùs hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit : dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, praelio deterrentur ; neque tamen suos longiùs abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine cir-

the hills, continued dispersed in small bodies. The barbarians also made large fires in every quarter, and remained the greatest part of the night rejoicing and howling, as was customary with them. The kings too, flush'd with the thoughts of not being defeated, triumphed as victors. The Romans being in the dark, had a distinct view of those appearances from the eminences, which much animated them.

104. THE imprudent conduct of the enemy having induced Marius to nurture great hopes of success, he orders his army to continue silent, and no trumpets to be sounded, as usual, at the conclusion of each watch. When day appeared, and the enemy was now fatigued and asleep, he orders all the trumpeters to give a general sound, and his men to fall out with loud shouts. This unexpected and terrible alarm, suddenly disturbed the Moors and Getulians, who were incapable of flying or running to their arms, or proposing any method to guard themselves, through the confusion the shouts of our soldiers occasioned ; who during the tumult, and amidst their disorder and apprehensions, one may say madness, fell upon them. In fine, they received a general defeat, the greatest part of their arms and military colours being taken, and a greater number of men slain in the engagement than in all the former battle. For alarm and sleep were the greatest impediments to their flight.

105. MARIUS, having surmounted this danger, continues his march, as he had before intended, into winter-quarters, which he had before fixed in the towns on the sea-coast, because he would be there furnished with provisions, for the subsistence of his army. Nor did victory render him remiss or elevated ; for he marched in a quadrangle, as if in fight of an enemy. Sulla had the command of the horse posted in the right ; A. Manlius commanded the slingers and bowmen, with some battalions of Ligurians, which formed the left ; the tribunes and light armed infantry were in the van and the rear. Deserters, in whom little confidence was to be reposed, and who were perfectly acquainted with the country, were dispatched to observe the motions of the enemy. And Marius himself, as if the sole commander, inspected every thing. He was in every quarter, animating or menacing his men, as was requisite. He in person continued in arms, and upon duty, obliging the men to do the same. Nor was he only so cautious in his march ; but when he encamped, and guarded the

circumdato effusi confedere. Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo latari, exultare, strepere vocibus : & ipsi duces feroces, quòd non fugere, ut pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis, ex tenebris, & editoribus locis facilia visu, magnòque hortamento erant.

104. PLURIMUM verò Marius imperitiâ hostium confirmatus, quàm maxumum silentium haberi jubet : ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere : deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, ac paulò antè somno captis, de improvviso vectigalis, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri, atque Gætuli ignoto atque horribili sonitu repentè excitati, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere, aut providere quidquam poterant. Ita cunctos strepitu, clamore nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus tumultu, terrore, formidine, quasi vecordia, ceperat : denique omnes fusi, fugatique : arma, & signa militaria pleraque capta : pluresque eo prælio, quàm omnibus superioribus, interemti. Nam somno, & metu insolito impedita fuga.

105. DEIN Marius, uti cœperat, in hyberna proficiscitur, quæ propter com meatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat : neque tamen victoriâ secors, aut insolens factus ; sed pariter, atque in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistrâ parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus, & sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat : primos, & extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere : apud omnis adesse, laudare, increpare merentus. Ipse armatus, intentusque item milites cogebat : neque secus, atque iter faceret,

the gates, with the soldiers of the legions within the camp, and without it posted some auxiliary cavalry, as usual, and also upon the ramparts. He in person visited the centinels upon duty, not through want of confidence in those, whom he had commissioned to execute his orders; but that he might, by labouring under the same difficulties, encourage his men to an easy performance of their duty. Nor was the consul then, or during the continuance of this war slack in his discipline, but retained them under a strict obedience to orders, rather by implanting in them a sense of scandal than by penal laws. This many asserted, resulted from a desire of rendering himself popular; but others thought, it proceeded from the pleasure he entertained in thus conducting himself, since he had been inured to strict discipline, which others are apt to think miseries from his youth. But whatever the motive was, the concerns of the state were as well conducted by him as under the severest discipline.

106. FOUR days after the engagement, several spies were unexpectedly seen on both sides, at some distance from Cirta, which convinced them the enemy was near. But the scouts which were sent to reconnoitre the enemy, bringing the same information, the consul undetermined concerning the method he should observe in drawing up his forces, continues in the same quadrangle, prepared to sustain and retaliate the efforts of the enemy on any side, and waits for their arrival. So that Jugurtha's hopes were defeated, who persuading himself that one of them would charge the enemy in the rear, had separated his army into four bodies. Sulla, in the mean time, to whom the enemy first appeared, having animated his men, charges the Mauritanian and Getulian cavalry with several squadrons of horse closely ranged. The other forces maintaining their ground, intercept the discharges of javelins which were thrown at a distance, and kill those who attempted to engage them.

107. WHILST the cavalry is engaged, Bocchus with the infantry, which his son Volux had brought him, and who, having halted for some time, had not been concerned in the late battle, charges the rear of the Roman army. Marius now commanded in the van, attending the motions of Jugurtha, who was there with a considerable force; but upon being informed of the Moor, retired with a few attendants, near the Roman infantry, and declared in the Latin language, which he had learned to speak, during his stay in Numantia,

faceret, castra munire, excubitus in portâ cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere : præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilas ipse circuire, non tam diffidentia futuri quæ imperavisset, quàm uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sanè Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini belli, pudore magis, quàm malo, exercitum coarcebat : quod multi per ambitionem fieri agebant : pars, quod à pueritiâ consuetam duritiam, & alia, quæ cæteri miseras vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen resp. pariter, ac sævissimo imperio, bene, atque decorè gesta.

106. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longè ab oppido Cirta simul undique speculatores citi sese ostendunt : quâ re hostis adesse intelligitur. Sed quia divorsi redeunt, alius ab aliâ parte, atque omnes idem significabant ; consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus ibidem operitur. Igitur Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æquè aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim, & quàm maxumè confertis equis, ipsèque aliique Mauros invadunt : cæteri in loco manentes, ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, & si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare.

107. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos erat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis instabat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit : ibi Latine nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat, exclamat,

tia, That it was in vain for our army to dispute the victory, for he in person had some time before killed Marius, shewing them his sword instain'd with blood, which he had, by slaying one of the infantry, rendered so. As soon as the men were acquainted with this, they were more alarmed with the barbarity which he had owned himself guilty of, than credited the information; upon which the barbarians, inspired with new resolution, immediately charged the discomfited Romans with great warmth; and they had fled, had not Sulla, on his return from pursuing the body he had defeated, flanked Bocchus, who flies at the first effort. But Jugurtha was hemm'd in by the cavalry on both sides, intent upon relieving his men, and securing the victory he had very near gained; but all his forces being cut in pieces, he unattended rush'd through, intercepting with great caution the discharge of weapons. Marius, in the mean time, having defeated the cavalry, wheels about to support the other troops, who, according to the intelligence he had received, were routed. In short, they received a general defeat on all sides.

108. The aspect of every thing was now dismal, and extended itself to a considerable distance; some were in pursuit, others were flying, with all possible haste; one was slain, another made prisoner; horses with their riders lay promiscuously in the field; a considerable number of the wounded were incapable of flying or remaining undisturbed; but attempting to pursue their flight, no sooner recovered themselves but again fell down. In fine, all the space your eyes could take in, was covered with javelins, arms, mangled bodies, and even the earth was soaked with blood. Marius, having now gained an indisputable victory, pursued his design of marching to Cirta; where, five days after the defeat of the enemy, Bocchus deputed ambassadors, who, in the name of their master, desired Marius to dispatch two persons in whom he could confide, that they might with him concert measures most consistent with his own interest and that of the Roman state; upon this, and without delay, he deputed L. Sulla and A. Manlius. They, tho' they were sent for by the king, thought it most adviseable to address him first, that if he persisted in his inclination for war, they might persuade him to decline it; or to render him, if inclined to peace, the more warm in the pursuit of it. Wherefore Manlius assigned the preference to Sulla, not as a prerogative due to his age, but for his flow
of

mat, nostros frustra pugnare : paulò antè Marium sua manu interfec-
tum : simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugnâ, fa-
tis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites acce-
pere, magis atrocitate rei, quàm fide nuncii, terrentur : simulque bar-
bari animos tollere, & in perculsos Romanos acriùs incedere. Jám-
que paulùm â fugâ aberat, cùm Sulla, profligatis iis, quos advorsùm
ierat, rediens ab latere Mauros incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur.
At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, & propè jam adeptam victoriam
retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus dextrâ, finistrâ, omnibus oc-
cis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim
Marius, fugatis equitibus, accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam accepe-
rat. Denique hostes jam undique fusi.

108. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus : sequi, fuge-
re ; occidi, capi ; equi, atque viri afflicti : ac multi, vulneribus acceptis,
neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati ; niti modò, ac statim conci-
dere ; postremo omnia, quà visus erat, confrata telis, armis, cadave-
ribus, & inter ea humus infecta sanguine. Postea loci consul, haud
dubiè jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quò initio profectus
intenderat. Eò post diem quintum, quàm iterum barbari malè pug-
naverant, legati à Boccho veniunt ; qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere
duos quàm fidissimos ad eum mittere ; velle de suo, & de populi R.
commodo cum iis differere. Ille statim L. Sullam, & A. Manlium ire
jubet : qui quamquam acciti ibant ; tamen placuit verba apud regem
facere ; uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent ; aut cupidum pacis vehe-

of eloquence. And he made the following address to the king.

109. " WE, with all imaginable pleasure, king Bocchus, received
 " the intelligence, that heaven has influenced a prince of your me-
 " rit, to prefer at last pacific measures to hostile ones, and no longer
 " to blemish your character, by acting against us in concert with
 " Jugurtha, the vilest man in being; and to avert the terrible neces-
 " sity we should have been under, of distressing you, who only erred
 " in your conduct, and that most depraved mortal, with the same
 " embarrassments. The Roman people have, from the foundation of
 " their power, which was but inconsiderable, thought it more ad-
 " visable to contract alliances than to reduce states, and rather to
 " govern with the affections of their subjects, than by the dint of
 " arms. From our alliance more advantages will accrue to you than
 " from any other. And to urge reasons in the defence of our asser-
 " tions; we are first at a considerable distance from you, which may
 " prevent differences, tho' not the continuance of our amity, any more
 " than if we were near you; and then again, we have a sufficient
 " number of subjects, tho' not of friends, which I am convinced nei-
 " ther we, nor any other nation, ever had. And it were to be wished
 " that these measures had been entered upon by you, when the war
 " commenced! For now you would have been in possession of be-
 " nefits granted you by the people of Rome, to which the calamities
 " now brought upon you by your misconduct, would not be equiva-
 " lent. But fortune is, for the generality, the disposer of human
 " concerns; and it was her pleasure, that you should be sensible of
 " the consequences of our resentment and benevolence; since she has
 " therefore presented you with an opportunity of receiving our favours,
 " pursue your present resolution. Now you are highly capable of
 " regulating your error by your future merits. In fine, implant this
 " thought in your bosom, that none as yet could boast exceeding the
 " Romans in benevolence. And as to the military science, you are
 " yourself sensible of their capacity."

110. BOCCHUS answered him in a genteel polite manner, apolo-
 gizing a little for his error, declaring, " That he did not take the
 " field to prejudice the Romans, but to protect his dominions from
 " incursions, since that part of Numidia had devolved to him by
 " the rights of war, of which Jugurtha was dispossessed; and there-
 " fore could not permit Marius to commit any ravages upon it. That
 " he had before solicited, by sending deputies to Rome, the alli-
 " ance

mentiùs accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætatì, à Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus,

109. “ Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia est, cùm te talem virum
 “ dii monuere, ut aliquando pacem, quàm bellum, malle; neu te
 “ optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurthâ miscendo commaculares;
 “ simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem,
 “ & illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc, populo R. jam à prin-
 “ cipio inopi, melius visum, amicos, quàm servos, quærere: tutiùs-
 “ que rati, volentibus, quàm coactis imperitare. Tibi verò nulla op-
 “ portunior amicitia nostrâ: primùm quòd procul absumus; in quo
 “ offensæ minumum, gratia par, ac si propè adessemus: dein, quòd
 “ parentes abundè habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam
 “ omnium fati fuit. Atque hoc utinam à principio tibi placuisset!
 “ profecto ex P. R. ad hoc tempus multò plura bona accepisses, quàm
 “ mala perpeffus es. Sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna plera-
 “ que regit: cui scilicet placuit & vim, & gratiam nostram experiri:
 “ nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, uti cœpisti, perge.
 “ Multa, atque opportuna habes, quò faciliùs errata officiis superes.
 “ Postremò hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Rom.
 “ beneficiis victum esse. Nam, bello quid valeat, tute scis.”

110. Ad ea Bocchus placidè, & benignè, simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit; “ se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum
 “ arma cepisse. Nam Numidiæ partem unde Jugurtham expulerit,

“ance of the state, which request was rejected ; but that he would
 “now omit reflecting on any past conduct, and send, if permitted by
 “the consul, other deputies to Rome with the same view.” However, tho’ Marius permitted him, Bocchus altered his resolutions, at the instigations of his confidents, whom Jugurtha, when informed that Sulla and Manlius were deputed to the king, had by bribes engaged in his interest. Marius, having, in the mean time, entered into winter-quarters, goes with a detachment of his light-armed infantry and cavalry, into the desert, to invest a fort garrisoned by Jugurtha with Roman deserters. Then Bocchus, happily reflecting on the ill success which had attended them in the two late engagements, or at the solicitations of the friends, whom Jugurtha had not bribed, elected five out of all his confidents, men most remarkable for their steady attachment to his interest, and of uncommon abilities. These were dispatched by him to Marius, and he appointed them his ambassadors plenipotentiary.

III. THEY, with all possible haste proceed on their journey to the winter-quarters ; but were assaulted on the road by some Getulian banditti, who plundered them of all their equipage. However, very much intimidated, and meanly attended, they continue their journey to Sulla, whom the consul had nominated proprætor, during his absence. He did not conduct himself as their inconstancy had merited, but genteely and generously. Which behaviour induced the deputies to judge the Romans were unjustly censured for their avarice ; and thought Sulla, by his generosity, their friend. For the enemy was unacquainted with giving largesses as bribes ; and none was judged liberal by them but through a principle of generosity ; and with them all favours argued a benevolence. They accordingly acquaint Sulla with their dispatches, at the same time desiring him to favour and direct them in the management of their concerns ; conferring great encomiums on the troops, honour, grandeur of their master, and on all the other things which they imagined might attach him to their interest, or secure his affections. Upon this the quæstor promised to act according to their desires ; and acquainted them with the method

“ jure belli suam factam : eam vastari à Mario, pati nequivisse : præ-
 “ terea, missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia.” Cæte-
 rum vetera ommittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad sena-
 tum missurum. Dein, copiâ factâ, animus barbari ab amicis flexus,
 quos Jugurtha, cognitâ legatione Sullæ, & Manlii, metuens id quod
 parabatur, donis corruerat. Marius, interea, exercitu in hybernacu-
 lis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitatûs proficiscitur
 in loca sola, obsessum turrin regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præ-
 fidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus feliciter, seu reputando quæ
 sibi duobus præliis evenerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incor-
 ruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copiâ necessariorum quinque dele-
 git, quorum & fides cognita, & ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad
 Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet : agendarum
 rerum, & quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis per-
 mittit.

III. ILLI maturè ad hyberna Romanorum proficiscuntur. Dein à
 Gætulis latronibus in itinere circumventi, spoliatiq̃ue, pavidî, sinè de-
 core ad Sullam profugiunt ; quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens,
 pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti
 erant, sed accuratè & liberaliter habuit. Quâ re barbari & famam
 Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, & Sullam ob munificentiam in sese ami-
 cum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat : munificus ne-
 mo putabatur, nisi pariter volens : dona omnia in benignitate habeban-
 tur. Igitur quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt : simul ab eo petunt,
 ut fautor, consultorque sibi adsit : copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis
 sui, & alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentia esse credebant, oratione
 extollunt : dein, Sullâ omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Mari-
 um,

thod necessary to be observed in their application to Marius and the senate; after which they continued in the camp near forty days.

112. MARIUS, being incapable of compassing his design against the fort, returns to his quarters at Cirta; and when acquainted with the arrival of the deputies, he orders them and Sulla to be introduced to him, and cites all of the senatorian order, with the prætor L. Bellienus of Utica, to attend the council, appointed to determine on the dispatches of Bocchus. The principal contents of which were, to permit the ambassadors to proceed to Rome, and to grant him a truce, during their absence from his court. To which Sulla and a majority assented; but the rest made a warm opposition, being insensible of the inconstancy and frailty of human concerns, which frequently received a general change. When the deputies had got their proposals accepted, three of them, in company with C. Octavius Rufo, who had been sent to Africa with money to pay the arrears of the army, depart for Rome; the other two return to the king, whom they acquaint, after having informed him of other concerns, with the civility and affection of Sulla. The ambassadors on their arrival at Rome, declaring, That the king had been guilty of an error, into which the subtlety of Jugurtha had insensibly led him; and intreating the senate and people of Rome to honour him with their amity and alliance: They were answered in the following manner: “ The
“ senate and people of Rome always retain a lively sense of the ser-
“ vices or injuries they receive; but as Bocchus was touch’d with
“ concern for his misconduct, they pardoned him; and should con-
“ tract an alliance and establish an amity with him, when he by his
“ services merited it.

113. THE king, having received intelligence of this, sent a letter to the council, desiring him to depute Sulla to him, to consult their interest; whom Marius immediately dispatched with a detachment of horse and foot, Balearian slingers, bowmen, and a company of Pelignians, armed in the same manner as the dragoons, that they might march more expeditiously, and because those would guard them, as well as arms of another nature, from the enemy who were armed in the same manner. Volux, Bocchus’s son, appeared unexpectedly on the fifth day upon a great plain, and only attended with a thousand horse; but whom Sulla and his men, by the disorder of their march, judged to be more numerous, and sent against them; upon this alarm all prepare for an engagement. However, their apprehensions were not equivalent to their expectations, since their ene-
mies,

um, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiantur.

112. MARIUS postquam infecto negotio, quò intenderat, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illósque & Sullam venire jubet, itemque L. Bellienum prætorem Uticâ, præterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis : quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit, in quibus, legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ; ab consule interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ, & plerisque placuere : pauci ferociùs decernunt, scilicet, ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ, & mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Cæterùm Mauri, impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti sunt cum Cn. Octavio Rufone, qui quæstor stipendium ad portaverat : duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cùm cætera, tum maxumè benignitatem, & studium Sullæ accepit. Romæque legatis ejus postquam, errâsse regem, & Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt, amicitiam & fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur ;
 “ S. P. Q. R. beneficii & injuriæ memor esse solet. Cæterùm Boccho,
 “ quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit. Fœdus & amicitiam da-
 “ buntur, cùm meruerit.”

113. QUIBUS rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras à Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret ; cujus arbitrato communibus negotiis consulere-
 tur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum, atque peditum, funditorum Baleariorum : præterea iere sagittarii, & cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis itineris properandi causâ : neque his secus, atque aliis armis, adversus tela hostium, quòd ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repentè in campis patentibus cum mille non ampliùs equitibus sese ostendit : qui temere & effusè euntes, Sullæ aliisque omnibus & numerum ampliorem vero & hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire ; arma, atque telo tentare,
 intendere ;

mies, if such, were those who had oft been defeated by them. Some horse, in the mean time, who were sent as scouts, inform them of the affair ; and acquainted them that their motions seemed to be consonant with pacific intentions.

114. WHEN Volux arrived, he immediately applied to the quæstor, acquainting him, that his father had dispatched him to meet him, and guard him with the troops under his command. Upon this they continue their march for two days uninterrupted. But in the evening, after they had encamped, Volux being intimidated, hurries to Sulla, informing him, he had from his spies received intelligence of the approach of Jugurtha ; also desiring and intreating him to retire with him in the night. Sulla resolutely answered : “ That he was “ not in the least apprehensive of ill consequences from him, whom “ he had so frequently defeated ; and reposed confidence in his soldiers intrepidity : that tho’ inevitable destruction menaced, he “ would rather continue in his post, than betray the men under his “ command, and preserve a life, which being distressed with diseases, “ would soon terminate, by a shameful flight.” But, at the repeated solicitations of Volux to decamp, and march in the night, he acts as he desires, and orders the men to refresh themselves, make a considerable number of fires, and pursue their march at the first watch with all possible silence. And now all, being harassed with their march in the night, encamped at sun-rise, when the Mauritanian cavalry informs them, that Jugurtha had halted at about two miles distance from them. The Romans, upon this intelligence, are very much intimidated, imagining Volux had betrayed them, by forming this stratagem to surprize them. And some of the army declared, that such a scene of wickedness should be punished with the utmost severity.

115. BUT Sulla, tho’ inclined to act in the same manner, averts all injuries from Bocchus, and animates his men, desiring them to entertain good hopes ; for multitudes had oft been defeated by an inconsiderable number of intrepid men ; and that the more resolute they were in the engagement, the more would they secure themselves ; also representing that it was inconsistent with the character of an armed soldier, to seek for refuge in his feet, incapable of defence ; or when they are alarmed with apprehensions, to turn their defenceless backs, unable to see the motions of the enemy, against them. After this, calling

intendere : timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, & advorsum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

114. VOLUX adveniens quæstorem appellat : se à Patre Boccho obviàm illis simul, & præsidio missum. Dein eum & proximum diem finè metu conjuncti eunt. Pòst, ubi castra locata, & diei vesper erat, repentè Maurus, incerto vultu, pavens, ad Sullam accurrit : dicítque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse ; simul, uti noctu clàm secum profugeret, rogat, atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat se totiens sulum Numidam pertimescere : virtuti suorum satis credere : etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potiùs, quàm proditis quos ducebat, turpi fugâ incertæ, ac forsitan paulò pòst morbo interituræ vitæ parceret. Cæterum ab eodem monitus, uti nocte proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat : ac statim milites cœnatos esse in castris, ignisque quàm creberrumos fieri, dein primâ vigiliâ silentio egredi jubet. Jámque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cùm equites Mauri nunciant, Jugurtham, circiter duùm millium intervallo, ante eos confedissee. Quod postquam auditum est, tum verò ingens metus nostros invadit, credere se proditos à Voluce & infidiis circumventos. Ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

115. AT Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuriâ Maurum prohibet : suos hortatur, uti fortem animum gererent : sæpe antè paucis strenuis advorsus multitudinem bene pugnatum : quanto sibi in proelio minùs pepercissent, tantò tutiores fore ; nec quemquam, decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, & in maximo omnium metu nudum & cæcum corpus ad hostis vortere.

ling Jupiter to witness the treachery and perfidious conduct of Bocchus, he orders Volux to quit the camp. He with tears intreats him, to decline nurturing any such suspicion, since it was not, through his perfidy, but through the artful practices of Jugurtha, that this was done ; since he had from his spies received intelligence of his march. But as he was incapable of making a vigorous defence, and his hopes and power were dependent on his father, he persuaded himself he would not dare to charge them in the presence of his son. He therefore thought it most advisable to march through his camp ; and as for the Moors, he would either dispatch them before him, or leave them in the camp, and himself alone attend Sulla. The quæstor at that critical juncture accepted the proposals, and immediately departed ; at whose unexpected arrival Jugurtha was alarmed, and undetermined how to act. But they went safe through the camp ; and a few days after arrived where they intended.

116. A CERTAIN Numidian called Aspar was then at Bocchus's court, who artfully used great familiarity with the king ; and whom Jugurtha had deputed there as his agent to sound Bocchus's inclinations, when informed Sulla was sent for. There was also in the court a man named Dabar, the son of Massagrada, a descendant of Masinissa, tho' of mean parentage on the mother's side, since her grandmother was a concubine : he was much regarded by the king for his uncommon capacity ; and was sent by him, when sensible of his attachment to the Roman interest, to Sulla to acquaint him, that the pleasure of the Roman people relating to any concern, was now his pleasure ; that he might appoint an hour and place for a conference, since he was at present capable of negotiating the concerns they should think advisable at the interview ; nor had he any room to be apprehensive of Jugurtha's agent. Now Bocchus had sent for Sulla, that they might with more openness consult the common interest ; for unless they acted so, it would be impracticable to avert those schemes his subtlety would project. But I perceive the king conducted himself rather with self-interested views, than with a real intention to act what was intrinsically honourable, diverting both parties with the hopes of peace ; and that to come to a resolution, whether to surrender Jugurtha to Sulla, or Sulla to him, for some time engrossed his thoughts ; the bent of his mind prompting him to the one, and his apprehensions to the other.

Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maxumum obtestatus, uti sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, ne ea crederet : nihil dolo factum, ac magis caliditate Jugurthæ : cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Cæterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet ; & spes, opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset. Quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire ; sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sullâ iturum. Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata : ac statim profecti, quia de improvviso accesserint, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurthâ, incolumis transeunt. Dein paucis diebus, quò ire intenderant, perventum est.

116. IBI cum Boccho Numidâ quidam Aspar nomine, multum, & familiariter agebat, præmissus ab Jugurthâ, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, & subdolè speculatum Bocchi consilia : præterea, Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, cæterum materno genere impar, (nam pater ejus ex concubinâ ortus erat) Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus, acceptusque, quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, paratum sese facere, quæ populus Rom. vellet : Colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret : consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere : neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret ; quò res communis licentiùs gereretur : nam ab infidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse. Sed ego comperior, Bocchus magis Punicâ fide, quàm ob ea, quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos, & Numidam spe pacis attinuisse : multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet : libidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasse.

117. THE quæstor upon this answered, that he should urge little in Aspar's presence ; and on whatever other concerns he treated, it should be when they were alone, or a few persons present ; and then also acquainted him with the reply he should make. When they came, as was fixed, to an interview, Sulla declares to him the motive which had induced Marius to send him, namely, a desire to be convinced whether war or peace was now his aim. The king, after this, as he had been ordered, desires him to apply to him when ten days are elapsed, since he had not yet resolved on that head, but would give him a categorical answer at the next audience. After this, each of them retired to his camp. But when the night was almost expired, Bocchus sends private orders for Sulla to attend him, and none but interpreters in whom he could confide are admitted to the interview, excepting Dabar, who had summoned Sulla, one of the strictest honour, and sworn to secrecy. The king, in the presence of those, thus addresses the quæstor.

118. " NEVER did I, a prince superior in point of power to all
 " in being, I, more rich than any with whom I am acquainted, nur-
 " ture the thoughts of being obliged to a man of a private capacity,
 " or under the character of a crowned head. And believe me, Sulla,
 " before the acquaintance now subsisting between you and me, I
 " have conferred many favours on those who solicited them, and
 " voluntarily on others ; but was never myself in want of any. Yet
 " I, with all imaginable pleasure, receive this change in myself, which
 " others would be inclined to deplore. The want of your amity
 " will be of no inconsiderable advantage to me ; your amity, which
 " is judged by me preferable to every other thing existing. But of
 " this you yourself may be sensible by experience. My arms, my
 " troops, my treasure, nay all things which you think requisite for
 " the preservation and support of the state, are at your disposal ; take
 " them, use them. And during your continuance in this world,
 " never imagine I have, after all favours, sufficiently retaliated your
 " services. I shall still be under the same obligations. In fine, I
 " shall gratify your desires with regard to any thing in my possession,
 " am I but sensible of it. For victory in war, is attended with less shame
 " than conquest in liberality. But with relation to your masters, whose
 " concerns you come here to conduct, I shall briefly answer you. I
 " never engaged in a war against the Romans, or had I ever any
 " such intention. I only took the field for the support of my domi-
 " nions against an armed body of troops. But I decline treating on
 " that

117. Igitur Sulla respondit, pauca se coram Aspare locuturum ; cætera occultè, nullo, aut quàm paucissimis præsentibus : simul edocet quæ sibi responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerant, congressi ; dicit se missum à consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agiturus foret. Tum rex, uti præceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet ; ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Deinde ambo in castra sua digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla à Boccho occultè accersitur : ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur. Præterea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir, ex sententiâ ambobus jurat : ac statim rex sic incipit :

118. “ NUMQUAM ego ratus sum uti fore, rex maxumus in
 “ hâc terrâ, & omnium, quos novi, opulentissimus, privato homini
 “ gratiam deberem. Et hercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis
 “ orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id im-
 “ minutum, quod cæteri dolere solent, ego lætor. Fuerit mihi
 “ pretium, eguisse aliquando tuæ amicitiae ; quâ apud animum
 “ meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeò experiri licet : arma, viros, pecu-
 “ niam, postremò quidquid animo libet, fume, utere : & quoad vives,
 “ numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris : semper apud me integra
 “ erit : denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego existumo,
 “ regem armis, quàm munificentia, vinci, minùs flagitiosum. Cæte-
 “ rum de rep. vestrà, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe.
 “ Bellum ego populo Rom. neque feci, neque factum umquam volui :
 “ finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto : quando
 “ vobis

“ that topic. Continue the war against Jugurtha by any method,
 “ since it is your pleasure. And as for my part, I shall never pene-
 “ trate into any dominions, which lay on the other side of the river
 “ Mulucha, which limited our kingdom and that of Micipsa; nor
 “ shall I permit Jugurtha to enter my dominions. If you have any
 “ other request which is consistent with my dignity and yours, ask,
 “ it shall be granted you.

119. THIS Sylla answered in a concise and modest manner with regard to his own concerns, but largely expatiated on the peace, and the publick affairs, in fine, he hinted to the king, “ That since
 “ the Roman senate and people had as yet conducted the war with
 “ success, his promises would no way oblige them; representing,
 “ that it was requisite to enter upon measures in really more service-
 “ able to them than himself, which he might now with no difficul-
 “ ty effect, since Jugurtha was at his disposal; and if he surrender-
 “ ed him to the Romans, it would be ever regarded as the greatest
 “ favour; and the attainment of the Roman amity and alliance,
 “ with a third of Numidia, would be the consequence of such an
 “ obligation.” Bocchus at first rejected the proposals, urging as an argument against them, the affinity by blood and contract, and the alliance subsisting between them. He also said, he by such perfidious conduct, was apprehensive of an insurrection of the people in his favour, since Jugurtha was the object of their affection, and the Romans that of their distaste. But the importunity of Sulla at last prevailed, and he promised to act according to his desire; but to divert Jugurtha with hopes of a treaty, wherein he himself should be included, since, fatigued with the continuance of the war, he was extremely intent on it, they determine on proper measures; and so having formed their design they retire.

120. BOCCHUS, the day after the interview, admits Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy, to an audience, when he acquaints him, that he had been told by Dabar, from Sulla, that it was possible for the war to be terminated on conditions; and desired him to see how the king was disposed. Aspar having received this intelligence, with a secret satisfaction hastens to his master, and having got his dispatches, returns eight days after, as expeditiously as possible, and acquaints Bocchus, “ That Jugurtha was inclined to assent to any
 “ conditions he should propose; but repos'd no confidence in Ma-
 “ rius; for treaties had been before concluded by him with seve-
 “ ral Roman generals, but were abolished: and that Bocchus, if he
 “ would.

“ vobis ita placet, gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurthâ bellum. Ego flu-
 “ men Mulucham, quod inter me & Micipsam fuit, non egrediar;
 “ neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobis-
 “ que dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.”

119. AD ea Sulla pro se breviter, & modicè; de pace, & de com-
 munibus rebus multis differuit. Denique regi patefecit, “ quod pol-
 “ liceatur, senatum & populum Rom. quoniam armis ampliùs valu-
 “ issent, non in gratiâ habituros: faciendum aliquid, quod illorum
 “ magis, quàm suâ, retulisse videretur, id adeò in promptu esse,
 “ quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset,
 “ fore ut illi plurimum deberetur: amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ par-
 “ tem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram.” Rex primùm
 negitare: affinitatem, cognationem, præterea fœdus intervenisse: ad
 hoc metuere, ne fluxâ fide usus popularium animos averteret: quîs &
 Jugurtha carus, & Romani invisi essent. Denique sæpius fatigatus,
 lenitur, & ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Cæterùm
 ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus,
 quæ utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

120. AT rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum, appellat:
 dicítque sibi per Dabarem ex Sullâ cognitum, posse conditionibus
 bellum componi: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille
 lætus in castra Jugurthæ proficiscitur. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus
 properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum; & ei nun-
 ciat, “ Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Ma-
 “ rio parum fidere: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem
 “ conventam frustra fuisse. Cæterùm Bocchus, si ambobus consul-
 “ tum

“ would obtain a lasting and permanent peace for them both, should
 “ appoint an interview with that pretext, and there surrender Sulla
 “ to him. For had he a man in his custody of such merit, the
 “ Roman senate and people would ratify the treaty concluded with
 “ Marius; since a man of such extraction would not be left at the
 “ enemy’s disposal through want of resolution, but through a desire
 “ of benefiting his masters.”

121. Bocchus for some time considering his desire, at last declared
 he would deliver Sulla up. But whether he really intended it, or it
 was only an artful project of his, I’m uncertain; but as the inclina-
 tions of kings are vehement, so do they vary every moment, and are
 oft repugnant to their interest. Having after this fixed upon a
 place for the conference to be held, the king first discourses with
 Sulla, then with Aspar, favourably received them, and promised
 both to compass a design of the same nature. They were equally
 flushed with hopes, and entertained the same pleasure within them-
 selves. But the night before the interview, Bocchus assembling his
 friends, and immediately altering his resolution, and ordering his
 attendants to retire, did as they say, muse upon the affair, changing
 for some time his countenance, and fluctuating in his mind; which,
 tho’ he declined speaking, was perceptible in his face. However, he
 at last, after much debate with himself, sends for Sulla, and in concert
 with him, forms a design against Jugurtha. Wherefore, in the morn-
 ing, when day appeared, and he was acquainted with the approach of
 the king, he with a few attendants advances with our quæstor, as if to
 pay him a singular regard, to meet him as far as a hill the assassins
 could easily see. The Numidian soon after came, according to his
 instructions, unarm’d, with a small number of attendants, and, upon
 a signal being made by the assassins, he was immediately encompassed.
 His attendants were slain; but the king was delivered in chains to
 Sulla, who brought him to Marius.

122. Q. CÆPIO and M. Manlius, our generals in Gaul, were now
 defeated and routed by the enemy, which news intimidated all Italy.
 Then, and ever since, the Romans thought other wars were easily to
 be surmounted by their resolution, but that their lives, not glory,
 were dependent on their arms, when they engaged the Gauls. Yet
 when

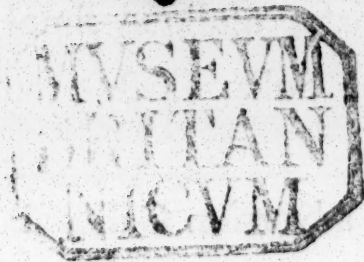
“ tum, & ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut unà ab omnibus quasi
 “ de pace, in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet : cùm
 “ talem virum in potestate haberet, tum fore, uti jussu S. P. Q. R.
 “ fœdus fieret ; neque hominem nobilem non suâ ignaviâ, sed ob
 “ rempub. in hostium potestate relictum iri.”

121. HÆC Maurus secum ipse diu volvens, tandem promisit. Cæterum dolo, an verè cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates uti vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsi sibi advorsæ. Postea, tempore & loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modò, modò Jugurthæ legatum appellare : benignè habere : idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni esse. Sed nocte eâ, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutatâ voluntate, remotis cæteris dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, vultu, colore, ac motu corporis pariter atque animo varius, quæ scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris, oris immutatione patefecisse. Tamen postremò Sullam arcessi jubet ; & ex illius sententiâ Numidæ infidias tendit. Deinde ubi dies advenit, & ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse ; cum paucis amicis, & quæstore nostro, quasi obvius, honoris causâ, procedit in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit : ac statim signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Cæteri obtruncati : Jugurtha Sullæ victus traditur, & ab eo ad Marium deductus.

122. PER idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Cæpione, & M. Manlio malè pugnatum. Quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique, & indè usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse ; cum Gallis pro salute, non

when the war in Numidia was terminated, and the Roman people received intelligence that Marius was conducting the king to Rome in chains, he, during his absence, was again elected consul, and Gaul voted him as his province. He triumphed gloriously during his consulship on the calends of January. The hopes of the Romans and the defence of the republic were ever after invested in him.

The END of the JUGURTHINE War.



pro gloriâ certari. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, & Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul absens factus est; & ei decreta provincia Gallia: isque Kalendis Januar. magnâ gloriâ consul triumphavit. Ex eâ tempestate spes, atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

Finis BELLI JUGURTHINI.



1892

February 1st 1892

Dear Mr. [illegible]

I have the pleasure to inform you that

the [illegible] of the [illegible]

has been [illegible]

and is now [illegible]

at the [illegible]

Yours [illegible]

[illegible]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Yours [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Yours [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Yours [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Yours [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

